THE CHAUPA SINGH RAHIT-NAMA

W.H.McLeod

University of Otago Press

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Hew McLeod

University of Otago Dunedin

Note on the Gurmukhi text

The original intention was to have the Gurmukhi text printed in India and subsequently incorporated within the complete work. Distance from Dunedin and other complications made this plan impracticable and it was decided that the text should be copied by hand. This was done by the translator/editor, thus providing a master copy suitable for reproduction. Although the result obviously fails to match the neatness of a printed version it may perhaps be claimed that it possesses its own distinctive advantage in that it more closely resembles the manuscripts from which it has been constructed.

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INTRODUCTION

I. CONTEXT

Ruhit and rahit-namas

Three basic features distinguish a Sikh of the Khalsa: veneration of the Gurus, reverence for the Guru Granth Sahib and observance of the Rahit. The first two need no further explanation. The third, however, is a term foreign to most outsiders, including many who demonstrate a genuine interest in Sikhs and their faith. It is a category which commonly requires definition before a discussion can proceed, an institution central to the life of the loyal Khalsa Sikh which yet receives surprisingly little sustained attention or systematic analysis.

What then is the Rahit? The Rahit is the code of discipline which all members of the Khalsa must vow to observe. Sikh tradition binds Khalsa and Rahit inextricably together. According to well-founded tradition the Khalsa order was inaugurated by Guru Gobind Singh on Balsakhi Day 1699. Following the dramatic choosing of the first five members the Guru is mald to have initiated them with a form of baptism and then to have promulgated the Rahit or code of discipline which all Sikhs of the Khalsa must thereafter follow. Sikh tradition also affirms that the Guru restated the Rahit in an amplified form immediately prior to his death in 1708. At his death the Rahit was sealed. The Lord of the Khalsa had delivered, once and for all, the pattern of belief and behaviour which his loyal followers must thereafter observe.

The reality of the situation is, needless to say, rather more complicated than the tradition allows. It is slightly complicated by developments which precede the founding of the Khalsa in 1699; and it is vastly complicated by those which follow that crucial event. Pre-1699 nources indicate that a rudimentary Rahit was evolving prior to the founding of the Khalsa; contemporary sources fail to deliver an authenticated 1699 version; and post-1699 sources demonstrate that much of the Rahit crystallized during the eighteenth century. Post-1699 nources also indicate that the discipline as a whole has ever since continued to mutate. In response to changing circumstances it has predictably introduced items which earlier versions luck, amended some which have come to be unacceptable in their original form, and discarded others which could no longer be sustained. This should not suggest, however, a process of change so radical that the Rahit of today bears little resemblance to its early eighteenth-century procursor. Plainly this is not the case. The fact that the Rahit testifies to an ongoing evolution quite rightly implies continuity, a continuity which can easily be traced throughout the entire history of the Khalsa.²

Pre-1699 sources do little to complicate the issue because there is little in them which one Identifies as typical Rahit material. Attention has frequently been drawn to an apparent difference in the spirit and general approach which evidently distinguishes the practice of the tenth Guru from the teachings of the first (the so-called 'transformation of Sikhism'). This particular controversy is essentially irrelevant in that the Rahit is recognisably a product of the later period. The early period, best expressed in the Adi Granth collection, is largely concerned with the interior discipline of meditation on the divine Name. This particular emphasis has ever since remained a conspicuous feature of Sikh belief, and as such it finds a place in the Rahit. Ever since the first versions of the Rahit were formally enunciated Khalsa Sikhs have been enjoined to rise at an early hour and meditate on the divine Name. The Injunction has, however, become one amongst many. Although it retains a fundamental importance the Rahit which was to emerge during the eighteenth century includes much more than this Adi Granth inheritance. A few other items evidently derive from the early practice of the Panth. Most belong to the period of the later Gurus and to the turbulent decades which followed the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708.

It was during the fifty years following the death of the tenth Guru that the earliest extant version of the Rahit was committed to writing. This brings us to the rahit-namas, the recorded versions of the formalised Rahit.³ It has been widely assumed that Guru Gobind Singh himself must surely have instructed scribes to prepare copies of the Rahit which he had

promulgated at the inauguration of the Khalsa. Earlier Gurus had already begun the practice of despatching hukam-nāmās or 'letters of command' and the tenth Guru had continued the practice. Although a hukam-nāmā might well include instructions of a kind which could have been incorporated in a rahit-nama these 'letters of command' never supplied the comprehensive list which constitutes the latter form. No extant rahit-nama can be safely traced to the lifetime of the Guru himself. All belong to the years following his death.

Sikh tradition acknowledges that the earliest rahit-namas may have been recorded after the tenth Guru's death, but it does not countenance a significant gap. Several rahit-namas claim to derive directly from the words of the Guru himself and if in fact the recording took place after he had died the injunctions which they contain express his actual words and authentic intentions. Such is the claim lodged by most of the writers responsible for the earliest versions. One purports to be the work of the Guru's most trusted servant, a faithful retainer who had cared for the Guru during his childhood and who had subsequently remained by his side as a close confidant. Another declares itself to be the record of a conversation held with the Guru shortly before his death in South India. Three different rahit-namas are attributed to

Nand Lal Goya, a celebrated poet of the Guru's entourage.

The earliest of these claimants apparently dates from the middle of the eighteenth century (between 1740 and 1765). This is the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā, attributed to the tenth Guru's tutor and aide Chaupa Singh Chhibbar. In its extant form it presents considerable difficulties from an orthodox Khalsa point of view, difficulties which seem plainly to explain the general neglect which it has suffered. These include the composite nature of the text (it incorporates narrative anecdotes and apocalyptic prophecy as well as rahit-nama material); its insistence upon traditional deference towards Brahmans (Chaupa Singh was himself a Brahman); and its embarrassing involvement in the Devi cult. The neglect is thus understandable, but it is nevertheless unfortunate in that no existing rahit-nama carries us nearer to the time of Guru Gobind Singh than this work attributed to Chaupa Singh Chhibbar. It must be added that its value, though considerable, should not raise too many expectations. It emerges almost half a century after the Guru's death and there is insufficient evidence to sustain the claim that its rahit-nama portions are the work of the Chaupa Singh who served as an intimate member of the tenth Guru's retinue. What this means is that the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā testifies to a later perception of the role of the Khalsa and the duty of the individual Sikh. It must also be remembered that it represents the views of a group which had once been influential within the Khalsa but which had since become disaffected.

In spite of these shortcomings the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā can at least be dated and located within its appropriate context, and we shall be dealing with it in much greater detail as this volume proceeds. Most of the other claimants to an early eighteenth-century provenance are more difficult to fix in terms of time or context. It is obviously safe to assume that like the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā they do not derive from the period of Guru Gobind Singh and in the case of the Nand Lal versions their attribution is obviously contrived. If claims to authenticity were to be established it was essential that the relevant text should assert a context involving direct dictation by Guru Gobind Singh. Amongst his retainers none would have better qualifications as an amanuensis than Nand Lal Goya and he thus became a natural candidate for the role of rahit-nama author. The actual texts do nothing to sustain these claims, plainly indicating that they belong to a later period. That is the easy part. The difficult part is to locate them within the decades (or centuries) following the Guru's death, and to identify the

groups or individuals who produce them.

One of these later rahit-namas which does permit cautious conclusions is the work variously known as the *Prem Sumārag* or the *Param Sumārag*. This particular manual obviously belongs to the middle years of the nineteenth century, a conclusion which follows from its author's obvious knowledge of the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and from his evident nostalgia for that period. The only outstanding question with regard to dating concerns the precise time of its composition, whether shortly before the British annexation of the Punjab or shortly after that event. The *Sau Sākhīān* or 'Hundred Episodes' also belongs to the same period, though in its extant form it probably emerged a decade or two later. Like the *Chaupã*

Ningh Rahit-nāmā the Sau Sākhāān combines Rahit injunctions with apocalyptic prophecy. An such it was to provide comfort and inspiration to the Kukas in their opposition to the alien British.

Much more difficult to place and evaluate are four brief rahit-namas written in verse form. I'wo of these rahit-namas are attributed to Nand Lal; one to a disciple variously called Prahilad Rul or Prahilad Singh; and one to Desa Singh, also said to be a contemporary follower of Guru (lobind Singh. This cluster constitutes the principal problem associated with the rahit-namas. Their contents are far too important to be ignored and if we are to trace the growth of the Khulsa satisfactorily it seems imperative that these verse rahit-namas should be firmly fixed in torms of time and context. It is, however, impossible to draw adequate conclusions at this stage. We can certainly detach all four from their purported origins and thereby bring them forward in time. Their language is not that of the period which they claim to represent and the kind of verse which we find in them could scarcely be the work of the highly skilled Nand Lal (loya. But how far forward should they be brought? That precisely is the problem and no sufficient answer has yet been supplied.

The same problem also attaches to one of the two remaining earlier rahit-namas. These two me both brief collections of injunctions expressed in prose. One of them (another of the Nand I.nl rahit-namas) is invariably found in association with the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā and like the dominant colleague can probably be placed in the middle years of the eighteenth century. The second is attributed to Daya Singh, one of the first five Sikhs to be initiated by Guru (lobind Singh at the inauguration of the Khalsa in 1699. As with the four verse rahit-namas this prose product can safely be detached from its putative author. A nineteenth-century provenance is indicated by the nature of its language, but at this stage any such verdict must be

a cautious one.

Whatever their dates and origins these were the formal rahit-namas which existed when representatives of the Singh Sabha reform movement turned their attention to the Rahit late in the nineteenth century. Given their interest in restoring the purity of Sikh doctrine and practice it was inevitable that the Singh Sabha reformers should have directed a portion of their zeal to the Rahit and its formal enunciation. Their task was not easy. The legacy of the two preceding centuries was a sparse one and much of its content was plainly unacceptable to the educated men who led the movement. The Khalsa allegiance of the various rahit-namas may have been obvious, but so too were their many contradictions and the injunctions which no mulightened product of late nineteenth-century education could possibly accept.

One response was to prepare commentaries on the Rahit or on particular features of it, and several of the works published during the Singh Sabha period belong to this category. A prominent example of the genre was Avatar Singh's Khālsā Dharam-šāstra Sanskar Bhāg, first issued from Lahore in 1894. A few years later that most influential of all Singh Sabha Intellectuals, Kahn Singh of Nabha, published a different kind of response, one which clearly

signalled the true nature of the problem.

Kahn Singh's Guramat Sudhākar, first issued in 1901, was a compendium of works relating to the person and time of Guru Gobind Singh. Such a collection was bound to include material relating to the Rahit, but how could the rahit-nama wheat be sifted from the chaff and the weeds? Kahn Singh solved the problem by publishing what appeared to be abridged versions of the principal rahit-namas. In reality, however, his selections were expurgated versions rather than abridgements. Portions which were unacceptable were deleted (as well as those which were insignificant) and only those items which matched the reformist philosophy of the Singh Sabha movement were retained. Anything which conflicted with that philosophy must ipso facto conflict with the original intention of Guru Gobind Singh. As such it must surely represent interpolation by an enemy, by a deviant, or (at best) by an ignorant Sikh. Purging these excrescences should produce a version of the Rahit much closer to the original version than that of any extant rahit-nama. Although this reasoning was not spelt out it seems clearly implicit in the procedure adopted by Kahn Singh.

Other attempts have subsequently been made to utilise the earlier rahit-namas. 10 It is, however, a method doomed to fail if the objective is to be a comprehensive statement of the

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Rahit appropriate to contemporary circumstances. This awareness prompted a lengthy quest for the definitive rahit-nama, one which would draw into a single agreed manual the various injunctions which together constitute the sum total of approved Khalsa practice. Extant rahit-namas could contribute to this process, but alone they must be inadequate. Other sources had to be used for the details which they delivered; and a consensus had to be achieved with regard to inclusion, omission, and the actual form of words. The task was an exceedingly difficult one and the final result bears all the marks of committee procedure. It was nevertheless achieved after several decades of negotiation, a feat of no mean scale.

The attempt made during the Singh Sabha heyday was actually a failure. This was the manual of Sikh rituals published as Guramat Prakās Bhāg Sanskār in 1915, a work which incorporated Rahit injunctions within proposed orders for various rites and ceremonies. Its failure was implicitly acknowledged in 1931 when the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (which by then had become the dominant voice in Sikh affairs) appointed a sub-committee to prepare a new rahit-nama. Although a draft was ready within a year the process of discussion was protracted and it was not until 1950 that an agreed version was finally published as Sikh Rahit Maryādā.

The brief introductory portion of Sikh Rahit Maryada appropriately offers a definition of a

A Sikh is any person who believes in God (Akāl Purakh); in the ten Gurus (Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh); in Sri Guru Granth Sahib, other writings of the ten Gurus, and their teachings; in the Khalsa initiation ceremony instituted by the tenth Guru; and who does not believe in any other system of religious doctrine. ¹¹

The remainder of the manual is divided into two sections, a lengthy 'Personal code' and a much shorter 'Panthic code'. The former includes instructions concerning modes of personal devotion; gurdwara worship and administration; approved methods of reading the sacred scripture; practices which are either enjoined or proscribed; and orders to be followed in the conduct of birth and naming-ceremonies, marriage, and funerals. The second section consists largely of the order to be observed in conducting the Khalsa initiation ceremony (amrit sanskār). Several basic injunctions are incorporated within this rite as portions of the homily delivered to all who receive initiation. The manual concludes with a brief section on penalties (tanakhāh) to be imposed for violation of the Rahit.

Although Sikh Rahit Maryādā has stood the test of thirty-five years remarkably well there are some predictable qualifications which must be added. For some the problem has been the evident fact that whereas the manual defines normative Sikh behaviour operative practice is very different. The answer to this particular objection is, of course, that such manuals are by definition normative statements and that as such they serve to stabilise religious practice in the quicksand world of ignorance and self-interest. A second difficulty is that although Sikh Rahit Maryādā grapples with the problem of the so-called Sahaj-dhari (or non-Khalsa) Sikh it finally fails to provide a satisfactory place for the latter. To this the answer must be that Sikh Rahit Maryādā is, after all, a statement of Khalsa practice. It does not pretend to cover the needs of the uninitiated who yet regard themselves as Sikhs.

These are, however, questions which must await later investigation and analysis. The purpose of the present volume is to present and examine the earliest of the extant rahit-namas. It is thus to Chaupa Singh and the rahit-nama bearing his name that we now turn.

A neglected tradition

Chaupa Singh is one of the Panth's enigmas. Although tradition attributes to him a role of fundamental significance in the emergence of the Khalsa he has attracted little attention in the intervening centuries. Kahn Singh Nabha expresses a widely-held view:

Chaupa Singh: This respected person was the tenth Guru's tutor $(khid\bar{a}v\bar{a})$ and a loyal Sikh of the Satguru. He compiled a rahit-nama which has been extensively corrupted by ignorant Sikhs 12

Kahn Singh's two sentences exemplify the treatment which Chaupa Singh has typically received. Although it is respectful it is also brief and implicitly discouraging. Chaupa Singh

recorded a rahit-nama, but it has been grievously disfigured by careless amendment and mischievous interpolation. There is nothing more to say.

Kahn Singh's dismissive treatment is perhaps surprising, particularly in view of the fact that he elsewhere cites passages from the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā as if they were safely nuthentic and orthodox. 13 He does, however, represent a general view and normal practice. The rahit-nama attributed to Chaupa Singh may be occasionally quoted, but with rare exceptions it and its putative author receive scant attention. 14 This, surely, is surprising. The Rahit is absolutely fundamental to the history and continued existence of the Khalsa, and one might well have expected that a work claiming to be its first recorded expression would attract close analysis. There are, as we shall see, reasons for this neglect, though they are not reasons which sufficiently justify it.

The two principal sources for material relating to Chaupa Singh are the rahit-nama itself and another work belonging to the same family tradition. This latter work is Kesar Singh Chhibbar's Bansāvalī-nāmā dasān pātšāhīān dā, a chronicle of the ten Gurus and the early eighteenth century, written in clumsy Punjabi verse and completed in 1769. Details concerning Chaupa Singh's family connections are confirmed and supplemented by the Bhatt vāhī multānī sindhī. These sources identify him as Chaupati Rai, a Chhibbar Brahman whose ancestral home was Kariala village in Jhelum District. His grandfather Gotam had become a Sikh and was followed in this allegiance by his two sons. The elder of the two, Pera by name, was Chaupati Rai's father. Praga, the younger son and uncle of Chaupati Rai, curned distinction as a soldier serving under Guru Hargobind and fathered a lineage which included several prominent servants of the Gurus. 18

While still a child Chaupati Rai was dedicated by his parents to the service of Guru Har Rai. During the period of Guru Tegh Bahadur he was employed as $khid\bar{q}v\bar{a}$ to the infant Gobind Singh 19 and according to the rahit-nama he was also entrusted with the task of teaching him his Gurmukhi and Takri letters. 20 The rahit-nama and the $Bans\bar{a}val\bar{i}$ - $n\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ both claim that he was the first person to receive the new Khalsa baptism from Guru Gobind Singh, 21 a claim which must be treated with scepticism. It can, however, be acknowledged that he would have received initiation at some stage and that the name Chaupa Singh would have been assumed at this time.

Having identified Chaupa Singh as first initiate the Chhibbar tradition subsequently lodges its second claim on his behalf. Kesar Singh briefly describes in the <code>Bansāvalī-nāmā</code> how the Guru decided to have the Khalsa code of conduct (the Rahit) codified and recorded. For this Important task Chaupa Singh was chosen and was thus responsible for preparing the first ruhit-nama. Shortly thereafter he assisted in escorting the women of the Guru's entourage to Delhi where he remained until his death in 1723. This is said to have occurred as a result of a fracas in which a Muslim faqir was killed by followers of Mata Sundari's adopted son Jit Singh, Sixty Sikhs were arrested with Jit Singh by the Mughal authorities and on Magh <code>sudī-4</code>, S.1780, all were executed. Chaupa Singh was one of the sixty.

The Chhibbar tradition that Chaupa Singh was selected by Guru Gobind Singh to produce the first rahit-nama is related by Kesar Singh in the following terms. Shortly before the siege of Anandpur and its evacuation the Guru responded to requests from his Sikhs by commanding Chaupa Singh to write a rahit-nama. When Chaupa Singh humbly professed insufficient competence for so weighty a responsibility he was reassured by the promise that the Guru himself would inspire and direct the words which he uttered. Dutifully he recorded a rahit-nama comprising 1,800 injunctions. A copy was made by a Sikh named Sital Singh Bahrupia and taken to the Guru for his imprimatur. A second copy was then prepared by a Sud Sikh and this too was certified by the Guru.²⁴

One of the extant versions of the rahit-nama disputes this account, claiming in an appended introduction that the task was undertaken by a group of trusty Sikhs who had been approached by others seeking clarification of the Rahit. Having prepared a rahit-nama on their own initiative thay presented it to the Guru and secured his ready approval.²⁵ The colophons of all the extant versions agree, however, in reserving the honour of having prepared it to Chaupa

Singh.²⁶ With this uncertain support from the extant text Kesar Singh Chhibbar has conferred on the Panth the tradition that its first rahit-nama was the work of his relative Chaupa Singh.

Although there subsequently appeared other rahit-namas claiming to reproduce the Guru's actual words the Chhibbar tradition has managed to survive. In 1881 it was resurrected by Baba Sumer Singh of Patna in his Srī Gurū pad prem prakāś and has sustained a fragile existence ever since.²⁷ Two related reasons may account for its survival, neither of them dependent on the specific claims advanced by Kesar Singh or the extant text. The first is a hypothetical argument based on the assumption that ritual behaviour necessarily attracts a doctrine of authority. Observance of the Rahit lies at the very heart of the Khalsa tradition and loyalty to the tradition requires that contemporary practice should faithfully reflect the Rahit actually delivered to the Panth by Guru Gobind Singh. The conviction that the contemporary expression of the Rahit corresponds to the Guru's stated intention would be confirmed and vastly strengthened if the latter could be established on the basis of an authoritative text. This, unfortunately, is not possible, but it is nevertheless entirely natural that a yearning for such authority should persist. Under such circumstances any plausible claim that the Guru commissioned a rahit-nama must exercise a strong appeal.

Deduction proceeding from this sentiment has provided a second reason for the survival of the tradition. It has been claimed that, although conclusive evidence is lacking, a decision by the Guru to record the rahit in a permanent form may nevertheless be regarded as an intrinsic likelihood. This argument begins with the wholly credible assumption that the Guru must surely have instructed his followers in the duties of their Khalsa allegiance. The Khalsa was plainly intended to be a visibly distinctive order and if anything resembling a formal inauguration took place it must certainly have been accompanied by a declaration of the means whereby its distinctive identity would be made manifest to all. It can thus be assumed that an early version of the Rahit would have been enunciated during the lifetime of the Guru.

From this first assumption the argument proceeds to a second. An oral presentation, however frequent, could scarcely serve the needs of a dispersed and growing community of disciples. Something more would be required if the requirements of the Rahit were to be effectively communicated. Randhir Singh argues that when the Guru instituted a new rite of baptism in order to combat the masands he must certainly have had a rahit-nama prepared in order to provide a convenient and permanent record of the new discipline. This would have been needed as a manual of instruction for the five-man baptismal teams (jathā) which he thereafter sent around the area occupied by his followers. Others who might hesitate to endorse the specific details of Randhir Singh's argument nevertheless accept the general proposition, conceding that the need for a written code of conduct would be at least 'highly probable'.

In this manner it is argued that a decision by Guru Gobind Singh to commission a rahit-nama is, to say the least, a strong likelihood. From this assumption it is but a small step to accepting the credentials proffered by the first of the traditional claimants. Some may hold back, but others do not: 'It can certainly be accepted,' writes Piara Singh Padam, 'that Chaupa Singh (martyred in S.1780) must have written a rahit-nama...'30 The tradition lives on. It is, however, only the report concerning Chaupa Singh which has thus survived. The actual text in its extant form is treated rather differently. As we have already noted Kahn Singh's opinion was that the extant text represents a seriously corrupted version of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā.³¹ Others even more sceptical suggest that it may be something quite distinct from Chaupa Singh's original product. It may be relatively early, but insofar as it purports to be the work of Chaupa Singh it is spurious. ³²

Although these opinions are normally stated without supporting evidence it is not difficult to deduce what the reasons might be. Five can be identified:

1. Structure. The first is that the extant text is obviously a composite work drawn from at least three different sources. Having begun as a formal rahit-nama presenting a regular series of injunctions the text switches to a narrative sequence.³³ It subsequently returns to its formal presentation of the Rahit,³⁴ but then abandons it again for another extended narrative

nequence.³⁵ This concludes the material attributed to Chaupa Singh.³⁶ The actual text, however, continues. The manuscripts, having done with Chaupa Singh, proceed with a brief prose rahit-nama attributed to Nand Lal.³⁷

With this appended contribution the manuscripts finally conclude. Plainly they derive from more than one source and the text which they record cannot possibly be regarded as the original work of a single writer. Even if the several components of the Chaupa Singh portion are to be accepted as the work of one author this can only be done by arguing that this author originally prepared two separate texts, one a rahit-nama and the other a narrative. From each of these sources a later compiler might then have extracted two separate portions and recorded them as a four-part composite text. In other words, even if the Chaupā Singh material is the mulhentic work of Chaupa Singh Chhibbar one must still postulate a subsequent copyist making selective use of the material. On structural grounds it is impossible to regard the extant text as the unmediated product of a single author.

2. Doctrine. A second reason for rejecting the extant text as the unadulterated work of Chaupa Singh is presumably the presence of attitudes and injunctions which conflict with twentieth-century orthodoxy. A prominent example is provided by the following item.

Any Gursikh who is a Brahman should receive twice the service [and consideration that other Sikhs receive. He who renders such service] shall earn a double reward. 38

The rahit-nama's attitude towards Muslims is similarly unacceptable to orthodox ideals.

A Gursikh should never touch a Muslim woman. He should never become friendly with a Muslim, nor should he trust his word. Never drink water from the hands of a Muslim and do not sleep in the company of Muslims. Never trust the oath of a Muslim... ³⁹

The notion that Guru Gobind Singh could have sanctioned privilege for Brahmans or the contemptuous ostracising of all Muslims is unthinkable. No work inspired by the Guru could possibly include such instructions. If the rahit-nama is truly the work of the Guru's servant Chaupa Singh then these injunctions and others like them must surely be later interpolations. Conflict with later orthodoxy is also implied in some notable omissions. These include the text's failure to mention the pañj kakke (the five K's)⁴⁰ and the absence of a distinctive murriage ritual.

N. Influence of the Devi cult. The Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā relates, as if it were authentic, the notorious story that Guru Gobind Singh was persuaded to seek the blessings of Mata Devi (the goddess Kali or Durga) on his new Panth by celebrating the traditional hom or inc-ritual. Although this particular narrative has been omitted by both the SRL and PSP copyists the numbering sequence running through the rahit-nama clearly demonstrates that it was a part of the version or versions from which they were working. The inclusion of the story, though unsurprising in an eighteenth-century Sikh work, inevitably detracts from the rahit-nama's claims to authenticity in the eyes of twentieth-century readers. All who share the Slingh Sabha inheritance must reject this story as spurious, and with it any claim that the extant Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā is reliable as history.

The Puranic cosmology introduced towards the end of the rahit-nama will presumably fall under the same condemnation. ⁴² Although the strong Puranic element in the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā* seems plainly to derive from the influence of the Dasam Granth it was generally unacceptable to Singh Sabha orthodoxy and would thus be regarded as another reason for treating the rahit-nama as dubious in origin or corrupt in terms of its extant text.

4. Chhibbar interests. A fourth reason which might well be offered by the proponents of an interpolation theory concerns the unctuous references to Chhibbar Brahmans which appear in both narrative portions of the Chaupā Singh text. 43 These are plainly intended to serve a family purpose, asserting on behalf of its members a claim to special deference within the Panth. Although Chaupa Singh was himself a Chhibbar this could scarcely explain the presence of such flattery in an original work commissioned and approved by the Guru. How could Guru Gobind Singh possibly inspire or sanction such self-interested claims?

5. Language. Finally there is the language of the rahit-nama. Piara Singh Padam questions the authenticity of the extant text on the grounds that its language and style are later than the usage current during the time of Guru Gobind Singh. 44 Another feature of the language which

might also raise doubts concerning the extant text is its Lahndi impress. It is true that Chaupa Singh came from a Lahndi-speaking area. It is, however, unlikely that a key work prepared in the darbar of Guru Gobind Singh and under his supervision would have used Lahndi forms so freely or incorporated elements drawn from Pothohari. One might well have expected the Punjabi to be more strongly Majhi or Doabi, with a possible tendency towards Braj. The Lahndi content of the language suggests either a work composed in the area north-west of Lahore or one which was subsequently revised there.

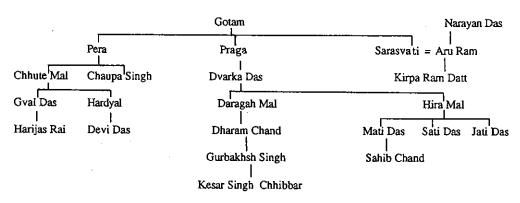
These five objections constitute the case which may be made against accepting the extant text as a rahit-nama prepared by Chaupa Singh Chhibbar under the direction of Guru Gobind Singh. In one respect the work is regarded as highly commendable. More than any other rahit-nama it demonstrates a conscious dependence on the sacred scriptures, a dependence illustrated by frequent quotation from both the Adi Granth and the Dasam Granth. This alone, however, cannot establish its credentials. The consensus opinion thus appears to be that the text's claim to authenticity must be rejected. The only major disagreement lies beyond this common acceptance. Whereas some regard the extant text as a seriously corrupt version of an authentic Chaupā Singh original, others tentatively suggest that it may have nothing at all to do with him.

The truth of the matter appears to be rather more complex than either of these simple explanations, and the challenge which it presents is unavoidable. If the extant text is to yield any information of value it is obviously essential that we unravel this complexity, endeavouring thereby to locate the text's various components in terms of date, place, and intention. A prior issue involved in this unravelling process is the family background to which reference has already been made. The first step in our analysis must therefore be an examination of this background and of the distinctive tradition which it had evidently developed during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The Chhibbar connection

Chaupa Singh was a Brahman of the Chhibbar got, a descendant of Gotam Chhibbar and member of a family which exercised considerable influence during the period of the later Gurus. This influence was to dwindle into insignificance during the turbulent years following the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708, leaving its heirs with memories of a lost eminence and with a dismayed contempt for the Khalsa leadership of the mid-eighteenth century. The decline in Chhibbar fortunes during the eighteenth century is important, for it was to mould the distinctive Chhibbar tradition which informs much of Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā.

The Chhibbars are a Jammu got and Gotam was a resident of Kariala village in the neighbouring Jhelum area. He produced the following lineage⁴⁶:



Many of these names appear in the extant text of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā and it requires only a cursory reading to recognise the self-conscious Chhibbar awareness which has prompted

their introduction. This is particularly marked in the two narrative sections, both of which stress the devoted loyalty of Chhibbar Brahmans to the later Gurus and the trust which the Gurus hestowed on them in recognition of their services. Chaupa Singh himself is cast in a role vastly more exalted than that of a mere scribe. Together with another Chhibbar he is responsible for the tenth Guru's early education;⁴⁷ he plays a leading part in assisting the Guru during the first referemony of kes baptism and is himself the first initiate;⁴⁸ he is always at hand as an amanuensis⁴⁹ and as the closest of the Guru's personal servants;⁵⁰ and finally he is the one chosen above all others as worthy to record the Khalsa Rahit.⁵¹

These claims may or may not be true. The issue which concerns us at this point is the extent to which they contribute to a Chhibbar reputation for faithful service and nearness to the Guru. This, plainly, is their intention and the message is repeatedly reinforced by laudatory references to other Chhibbars, scattered through the narrative portions of the text. The list is as follows:

Daragah Mal and Hira Mal ⁵²	ChS section Nos.
- servants of the seventh Guru	171, 584
Mati Das and Sati Das — loyal servants of the eighth and ninth Gurus	171, 584
accompany the ninth Guru to martyrdom	159, 162, 265
Kirpa Ram	
- taught the tenth Guru Persian	158
Devi Das	
- delivers daily homilies in the darbars	450
of the ninth and tenth Gurus – prominent in conducting the funeral obsequies	158, 174
for the ninth Guru	167
- determines the auspicious time for the tenth	107
Guru's consecration	169
- commanded to find Brahmans for the fire-ritual	209
 comforted by the Guru expounds the ancient scriptures 	236ff 615
- expounds the ancient scriptures	013
Sahib Chand and Dharam Chand	
- appointed to high office by the tenth Guru	170-173
- participate in administering the first kes baptism	179
- included in a group of prominent Sikhs	573
Dharam Chand (separate mention)	
 instructed to promulgate edict against masands 	186-188
- consulted by the Guru	236
- praised and reassured by the tenth Guru	583-586 599
 asked to deposit money in the treasury questions the Guru concerning the Khalsa 	599 604
- summoned to record a mystic revelation	612
·	
Gurbakhsh Singh – commissions a copy of the rahit-nama	643
- commissions a copy of the faint-matha	043

It is an impressive list, one which becomes all the more impressive when the references are read in full and the actual ranks of individual Chhibbars are noted.⁵³ Four of them (Daragah

Mal, Mati Das, Sati. Das, and Sahib Chand) served as divans under the later Gurus, apparently establishing a family monopoly of the highest position in the Guru's administration. The effect of the writer's strategy is further enhanced by the paucity of references to other Sikhs. Kirpal Singh, maternal uncle of the tenth Guru (and a patron of the Chhibbars), is mentioned in four places, but the few others who fleetingly appear are limited to one or two notices. The message is clear. The Chhibbar family (so it is claimed) possesses a record unparalleled for its faithful service to the Gurus and this record demands recognition.

The various individuals and incidents noted in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā also appear in that other product of the Chhibbar tradition, Kesar Singh's Bansāvalī-nāmā dasān pātsāhīān da. The two versions of the tradition do not always correspond in terms of detail, but the general resemblance is nevertheless close and there can be no doubt that the Bansāvalī-nāmā shares a common source tradition with the narrative portions of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. The two works overlap in terms of content and correspond completely as Chhibbar manifestos. This is scarcely surprising. Kesar Singh was the son of Gurbakhsh Singh Chhibbar, identified in the colophon of the surviving Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā

manuscripts as the person who commissioned the recording of the extant text.⁵⁴

According to its own testimony the Bansāvalī-nāmā was begun in Jammu City on Savan sudī 14, S.1826, and completed in the remarkably short space of two months on Asu sudī 11, S.1826.⁵⁵ If this claim is correct (and it presumably refers to a final copying of an earlier draft) the work reached its final form during the monsoon months of 1769.⁵⁶ As its complete title indicates the Bansāvalī-nāmā purports to be a chronology of the ten Gurus. It comprises fourteen sections, one for each of the ten Gurus with the remaining four allocated to Banda, Jit Singh, Mata Sahib Devi, and sundry contemporaries. Its rambling poetry consists of 2563 stanzas, unevenly distributed over the fourteen sections. For his sources Kesar Singh used a Bālā janam-sakhi, the Bachitra Nāṭak, a vāhī from the tenth Guru's treasury, Puranic traditions, and abundant hearsay.⁵⁷

In his introduction to the published text of the Bansāvalī-nāmā Rattan Singh Jaggi draws attention to several features of the work. 58 Two of these are of particular interest with reference to the attitudes and material which it shares with the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. First there is the clumsiness of its historical method, a style which lacks order and balance. Numerous dates are given, but many of these cannot be checked and like some of the author's claims they are often open to doubt. This is a feature which one expects to find in a work informed by family bias and extensively based upon hearsay. Jaggi acknowledges, however, that the work may contain trustworthy information which is available nowhere else, a view which Dr Ganda Singh confirms. 59 The same cautious approach must be applied to those parts of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā which deal with past history. It would be rash to read them

uncritically; and it would be unjust to dismiss them out of hand.

Information of this kind, however, is not the principal contribution offered by the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. It is not the historical past but rather the contemporary present which it most usefully conveys. This leads us to a second point made by Rattan Singh Jaggi. Kesar Singh, in dealing with what he viewed as the dire circumstances of the contemporary Panth, identifies four varieties of Sikh - the Dīdārī, the Mukatā, the Maikī, and the Murīd. These four categories are obviously drawn from the shared Chhibbar tradition, for they also appear in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā and will require our closer attention in that context. The message communicated by this fourfold division of the Panth is that disarray has increasingly overtaken the Panth during the course of the eighteenth century and that worse is yet to come. The latter sections of the Bansāvalī-nāmā are shot through with pessimism, implicitly contrasting the qualities of Chhibbar service with the shameless deceit of those who dominate the Khalsa during the middle years of the eighteenth century. It is a view which comes through even more strongly in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. In the Bansāvalī-nāmā the Chhibbar verdict is hedged with detail. The rahit-nama, ignoring much that is superfluous, projects it in sharp focus.

The relevance of the Chhibbar tradition is most obvious when we are dealing with the narrative portions of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. This does not mean, however, that it is

Irrelevant with regard to the two sections which formally enunciate the Rahit. It is important to these Rahit sections for at least two reasons, the first of them one which helps us clarify the true nature of the rahit-nama. We have already noted its pro-Brahman injunctions as one of the sentire justifying the claim that the extant text has been interpolated. In the light of the rahit-nama's Chhibbar impress this claim must be treated with caution. The Chhibbars were self-consciously Brahman and items which accord with this attitude should probably be regarded as natural features rather than as interpolations.

A second reason for relating the Chhibbar tradition to the Rahit sections is that it provides algorificant assistance in locating and dating these sections. The extant text may be composite in origin, but the person who drew its various components into a single manuscript must obviously have selected material which met with his approval. This means that the extant text attands, in its own right, as testimony to the views of the person who contrived it and of those who subsequently arranged for it to be copied. The narrative portions of the text confirm and greatly extend the information briefly stated in the colophon. They identify the extant text as a Chhibbar product recorded soon after the middle of the eighteenth century. This does not necessarily identify the actual origin of the rahit sections, but it does demonstrate that for one section of the Panth they were regarded as authoritative during the middle years of the eighteenth century. This is a substantial gain.

П. ТЕХТ

Manuscript copies of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā

Manuscript copies of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā are exceedingly rare and it appears that no manuscript from the eighteenth century now survives. This scarcity presumably reflects the long-standing doubt attached to the text's credentials. It may also derive from the subsequent appearance of the briefer rahit-namas combining crisp presentation with the same insistant claims to authenticity. The lengthy Prem Sumārag has suffered a fate similar to that of the

Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā.

Although efforts have been made by various organisations and individuals to locate and list extant Punjabi manuscripts it is evident that by no means all have yet been brought to light. Private collections and small gurdwaras still hold manuscripts which appear in no list or entalogue and it is possible that such owners may yet produce additional copies of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. It is obvious, however, that the number can never be substantial. Indeed the number of extant manuscripts has recently declined. Until mid-1984 an eighteenth-century manuscript was held by the Sikh Reference Library in Amritsar. The Sikh Reference Library was housed in the Golden Temple complex and when the Indian Army launched its Operation Bluestar assault on the complex in June 1984 the library suffered serious damage. Amongst the many manuscripts destroyed on that occasion was the only surviving eighteenth-century manuscript copy of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā.

The Sikh Reference Library manuscript was one of only four located during the preparation of this text and translation. Two of those which survive are held by research libraries in Amritsar and the fourth is accessible through a published edition. All four record (or recorded) the composite four-part text narrative. The destroyed manuscript and the two surviving library copies append the prose Nand Lal Rahit-nāmā, and it seems likely that the same also applies to

the source of the published edition.

The published edition is the version included in Piara Singh Padam's collection entitled Rahit-nāme and discussed below as the PSP text. Another version appears in a cyclostyled document edited by Shamsher Singh Ashok and issued privately in October 1979 under the title Gurū Khālse de Rahit-nāme. This latter version is unsupported by any description of its origin or by satisfactory evidence that it represents a faithful copy of the actual manuscript. It

has accordingly been omitted from the analysis which follows.

1. The Sikh Reference Library text (SRL)

The manuscript destroyed during Operation Bluestar was one of two copies which dominate the text presented in this volume. Prior to its destruction the manuscript was catalogued as number 6124 in the Sikh Reference Library. 64 Fortunately a copy was made and carefully checked during the preparation of this text and translation. (A photocopy of this hand-written copy has been lodged with the library of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.) The version which the manuscript recorded was extensively used in determining the Gurmukhi text and the description of the manuscript which follows was written in draft before the assault on the Golden Temple took place.

The SRL manuscript owed its considerable distinction not merely to its eighteenth-century origins but also to the fact that it was explicitly identified in terms of date and place. The colophon which concluded the complete manuscript stated that it was copied in Jind City and completed on Chet sudi 14, S.1821 [1765 A.C.].65 There is no reason to mistrust this claim.66 The appearance of the manuscript (both paper and script) was compatible with it and a comparison with other versions (particularly the PSP text) strengthens the impression of an eastern Punjabi copying material from the western Punjab. Whereas the PSP text remains generally faithful to Lahndi and Majhi usage, the Sikh Reference Library text tended occasionally to slip into eastern forms.67

The manuscript held by the Sikh Reference Library comprised 112 folios, each of them 175 mm. wide and 130 mm. from top to bottom. At some stage the folios had been cropped. This was evident from the fact that trimming had cut through some of the folio numbers. The first eight folios were unnumbered, and all eight were blank except for brief entries on the obverse sides of the first and sixth, and the reverse side of the seventh. On the obverse side of the first folio the accession number 6124/2472 and brief table of contents had been entered, presumably when the manuscript was received into the Sikh Reference Library. The number

6124 had been written again on the obverse side of the sixth blank folio; and on the reverse side of the seventh folio the copyist had practised his hand by writing most of the letters of the Gurmukhi alphabet in sequence.

These eight folios were followed by 104 numbered folios bound in ten fascicles of ten folios each plus four terminal folios. 68 The text of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā began on folio 1a and continued through to line 8 of folio 96b. The Nand Lal Rahit-nama commenced in the same line and concluded as line 8 of folio 104a. On folio 104b a later, cruder hand had inscribed a few lines from a savayya. The manuscript had been bound with cloth and the cloth had subsequently been covered with paper. Pasted on the inside of the rear cover was a five-line fragment from a manuscript copy of a Bālā janam-sakhi. The binding was broken and some folios were loose, but the manuscript was otherwise in excellent condition. Its paper was desī, well preserved but obviously old enough for the S.1821 date inscribed in the colophon.

Up to folio 30 each side had eight lines of script. Folios 34, 37 and 58 also had eight lines on each side and folio 100b had ten. The remainder had nine lines per side until the text finally concluded on the eighth line of folio 104a. Each line had 20-30 letters (normally 23-25). The copyist's ink, a dense black throughout most of the manuscript, weakened towards its

conclusion.

The script was generally clear and well-formed, although it tended (like the ink) to deteriorate towards the end of the manuscript. The points at which uncertainty occurred were usually instances where two Gurmukhi forms closely resembled each other. Pairs which were

sometimes difficult to distinguish were t/bh, th/b, g/rā, th/r, a/mi, and ku/bh.

Normal conventions for the period were observed in word and sentence formation. The ending of each sentence, injunction, or item in a list was marked by do dande (two vertical strokes), but there were no other breaks within each line of script. Words were run together and divided at the end of each line without regard for syllable construction. If a line-ending occurred immediately before a kannā the latter was represented by a small circle inscribed in the right margin. Whenever the same letter terminated a sentence it coalesced with the first

Mroke of the do dande.

'l'he only conjunct form was the abbreviated $r\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ (r). It was, however, used with greater frequency than one would find in modern Gurmukhi. The nasal tippī, by contrast, was used loss frequently than modern pronunciation requires. The adhik signifying duplication was not

The copyist's principal weakness was a tendency to omit letters, words, phrases, complete lines and complete injunctions. He had, however, taken the trouble to revise his work and had rectified many of his omissions by recording them in the margin (normally the top margin) with crosses in the text to indicate the actual location of the mistake. 69 Letters which had occasionally been omitted as he moved to a new line were normally missed in the revision

process.

Two omissions were particularly conspicuous, one evidently the result of carelessness and the other presumably deliberate. The careless omission concerned the section numbers which were obviously incorporated in an early version of the Chaupā Singh text. At some stage soon uster it was first compiled the Chaupa Singh text was divided into brief sections ranging from single sentences to lengthy paragraphs. These were numbered in a sequence which in its extant form extends from 1 to 647.70 This, however, was evident only from the second and later of the two major versions (the GNDU manuscript). The SRL manuscript recorded only a few of the section numbers. This it did erratically as far as number 40 on folio 9a. A lengthy gap then followed until the sequence was resumed at number 170 on folio 38b. This pattern of interrupted sequence continued with lengthy gaps until it finally terminated with number 520 on folio 71b. A second sequence began on folio 72a but soon ended with number 11 on folio 72b. A comparison with the consistently numbered sequence of the later GNDU manuscript Indicates that several of the numbers which were included in the SRL text were actually misplaced.

The second major omission was probably made deliberately for doctrinal reasons. It is clear from the complete numbering sequence that when the numbers were first added the text Included a narrative which may well have seemed offensive to the SRL copyist. This is the story of how Guru Gobind Singh was allegedly persuaded to seek the blessings of Mata Devi by commissioning a hom fire ritual. 71 The SRL copyist (or an earlier version on which he was dependent) omitted this story together with material which precedes and follows it. The actual break occurred in line 5 of folio 43b at the conclusion of section 185, and the excised portion ran through to the end of section 246. It was immediately evident that some such reduction of the text had taken place as the copyist recorded the number 183 at the end of its appropriate section on folio 43a and number 250 on folio 44b. The PSP and Khalsa College

manuscripts also omit the Devi story, though not in precisely the same way as SRL.

In addition to his recurrent omissions the copyist also erred in recording material which clearly had no right to be included. This ranged from simple dittography to the repetition of sentences and the mistaken insertion of four consecutive sections. 72 Where errors of this kind were noticed a yellow substance had been used to obliterate them. In two instances folios were misnumbered, 73 but in each case the sequence was correctly restored on the succeeding folio.

2. The Guru Nanak Dev University text (GNDU)

The other major version of the Chaupa Singh/Nand Lal text is part of a composite manuscript in the possession of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. Manuscript number 1018 in the university's library consists largely of a copy of the two works. The scribe gives his name as Harinam Singh Khatri and the year in which he completed his work as S.1913 [1856-57

A.C.1.74 The place where he performed the task is not named.

Manuscript 1018 comprises two separate collections, brought together in a single binding. The first portion is obviously part of an earlier manuscript which was evidently dismantled and divided. This is evident from its folio numbers. In its present form manuscript 1018 commences with a folio numbered 144, initiating a sequence which runs through to folio 271. This section of the composite manuscript comprises a variety of brief works, all of them rahit-namas or discourses. It concludes with the Hazar-nama (f.266a-b), Guru Nanak's discourse with Rukandin (ff.266b-269b), and the Nasīhat-nāmā (ff.270a-271a). Folio 271b is blank and is followed by three more blank folios, all with margins ruled as for the remainder of the section.

After these blank folios the portion containing the *Chaupā Singh* and *Nand Lāl* rahit-namas begins. The break is clear and distinct, marked by a change of paper and hand. This latter portion is itself a composite product comprising two pagination sequences:

The first sequence, which consists of twenty folios, initiates the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā*. The first folio, recorded in a different hand from the remainder, has

evidently been written at a later date to replace a lost folio.

b) At the end of folio 20b the text continues without any intervening space, but a new hand appears and a fresh numbering sequence begins with another folio 1. This second sequence (obviously the work of Hariman Singh Khatri) proceeds through to the colophon on folio 208a.

The second sequence continues the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā and carries it to its conclusion on folio 177a. Folios 177b-195a record a metrical account of the inauguration of the Khalsa, a work which appears to be of Chhibbar provenance but does not form a part of the extant Bansāvalī-nāmā. This is in turn followed by the Nand Lāl Rahit-nāmā (folios 195a-208a) with which the sequence finally concludes. Two blank folios follow the colophon, succeeded by five unnumbered folios in praise of the Gurus. Six blank folios conclude the entire collection. The paper used for these six terminal folios corresponds to that of five blank folios at the beginning of the collection.

Each folio is 108mm, wide and 82 mm, from top to bottom. The first twenty folios of the Chaupā Singh section have seven to nine lines per side of each folio (usually eight). The second sequence almost always has eight lines per side. In terms of script and general presentation GNDU is even neater and clearer than SRL. The entire manuscript is bound in leather-covered cardboard, slightly damaged on the front and considerably dilapidated at the rear.

Although the GNDU manuscript is almost a century later than the SRL version it supplies, in other respects, a much more satisfactory text. It is complete; it sustains the numbering sequence throughout the entire $Chaup\overline{a}$ Singh Rahit- $n\overline{a}m\overline{a}$; and it is recorded with much greater care than its predecessor. In spite of its significantly later date GNDU generally corresponds with the SRL text, and whenever the two diverge it is the GNDU reading which almost invariably commands acceptance. The GNDU copyist is careful where his SRL counterpart was frequently lax. Problems, which abound when one is limited to SRL, are quickly settled when the GNDU text is consulted.

For this reason the text presented in this volume is essentially that of the GNDU manuscript. Occasionally a SRL reading has been preferred, but such instances are rare. The more important of the variant SRL readings are, however, recorded in footnotes and its text is invaluable as a means of confirming the substantial reliability of GNDU. Without the testimony of SRL we should necessarily regard the comparatively late GNDU version with considerable suspicion.

3. The Khalsa College text (KhC)

The Sikh History Reference Department of Khalsa College, Amritsar, holds a modern transcription of the combined *Chaupā Singh /Nand Lāl* text (manuscript no. SHR 277). ⁷⁵ The transcription has been rather roughly made in an ordinary school notebook. A letter dated 20/6/41 pasted inside the front cover indicates that it was copied in 1941 from a manuscript held by Gurdwara Takhat Sri Damdama Sahib, Talvandi Sabo (Bhatinda District).

The text recorded in the Khalsa College notebook is very close to SRL - so close that it might well be a direct copy. There are numerous minor inconsistencies (such as a tendency to convert $nann\overline{a}$ (n) into $n\overline{a}n\overline{a}$ (n), but almost all of these could be expected from an inexpert copyist (and it is clear that the person who copied the Khalsa College text was indeed inexpert). Obvious errors of the SRL text are replicated in the Khalsa College copy, clearly aligning it with the SRL and distinguishing it from the other two versions. The one significant difference is that the Khalsa College transcription lacks the reference to Jind City and S.1821 with which the Sikh Reference Library manuscript concluded. This may mean that the latter is an early copy of an even earlier text which was still held at Damdama Sahib in

1941. Alternatively it may mean that the manuscript which was in the Sikh Reference Library was in fact the Damdama Sahib manuscript, transferred to Amritsar after 1941. By accident or inexplicable intention the Khalsa College copyist may have neglected to transcribe the final colophon.

4. The Piara Singh Padam text (PSP)

The third of the Chaupā Singh/Nand Lāl texts is currently accessible only through a sparsely-annotated published edition. Both the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā and the prose Nand Lāl Rahit-nāmā appear in Piara Singh Padam's selection of rahit-nama texts entitled Rahit-nāme. The introduction to his volume the compiler includes a brief note describing the various manuscripts which he used in preparing his selection. The portion of this note which, at first sight, seems to relate to his Nand Lāl prose text is as follows:

The early rahit-namas of Bhai Nand Lal and Bhai Prahilad Singh were obtained from the house of a granthi living in a village near Anandpur...⁷⁹

It seems likely, however, that this refers to the *Prasan-uttar* and the *Tanakhāh-nāmā*, both attributed to Nand Lal and reproduced in Piara Singh Padam's collection. The *Nand Lāl* prose text which other manuscripts attach to the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā* was probably attached to the *Chaupā Singh* text transcribed by Piara Singh Padam. If so, both are covered by the following note:

A manuscript of the Bhai Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama was formerly in the possession of a Chhibbar family of Gujrat [Pakistan]. A copy of this dated 1764 A.C. is held by the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar (no. 6124). A copy was in the possession of Giani Karnail Singh of Amritsar, and from this a copy was made by Bhai Randhir Singh. This is the text which has been used. 82

It seems safe to assume that Piara Singh Padam has transcribed and published the copy made by Randhir Singh, at least in the case of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. His text is certainly not a copy of SRL and the sequence of names which he gives in his introductory note seems clearly to imply that he is using the latest version rather than the predecessor once held by (liani Karnail Singh. This much seems clear. There are, however, some important questions which are left unanswered:

n) What is the source of the information concerning a Chhibbar family manuscript formerly held in Guirat?

b) Where is this Gujrat manuscript now?

c) When Piara Singh Padam writes that the Sikh Reference Library manuscript is a copy of this' version (is dī ik kāpī) does he mean a copy of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā in the general sense, or is he referring specifically to the Gujrat manuscript? If the latter, what is the source of his information?

d) In what manner did the Karnail Singh manuscript relate to SRL?

It should also be noted that Padam's brief survey of *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā* manuscripts makes no mention of either *GNDU* or the one held by the Khalsa College Sikh History Research Department, nor does it refer to the Damdama Sahib original from which the latter was copied in 1941.

Although Piara Singh Padam's treatment fails to cover these issues a certain amount can be deduced from a comparison of his published text with GNDU, SRL, and the Khalsa College manuscript. Whereas these three manuscripts present texts which are closely analagous, the PSP text is distinctively different. All four can be regarded as representatives of a single extant text, for they all incorporate the same fourfold pattern. There are, however, numerous variants ellstinguishing the PSP text from the other versions. Four of the variants which deserve notice are the following:

(1) The *PSP* text commences with an introductory prologue which the other manuscripts lack. 83 This prologue offers an account of the rahit-nama's origin which conflicts with that of the manuscript's colophon. 84 It has obviously been appended to an earlier version of the text.

b) The PSP text lacks the erratic passage comprising sections 113-116 which occurs in the other three manuscripts.

c) Like the SRL and Khalsa College versions the PSP text omits the portion which includes the account of Guru Gobind Singh's alleged hom ceremony (194-247). It also omits the lengthy series of anecotes illustrating the condign punishment awaiting those who oppose or defame the Guru (248-280). In this latter respect it differs from all three of the other versions.

d) Whereas the PSP version concludes with the colophon, the other manuscripts append a supplement. This supplement adds further comment concerning the coming anarchy and records a blessing which the Guru allegedly bestowed on the

descendants of a certain Bhai Mittu. 85

The PSP text is slightly shorter than the other three, for in addition to the material noted above under (b)-(d) the text represented by the other three manuscripts is more prone to minor supplements. The word-count, however, is not important. What matters is that a comparison of the two texts plainly suggests a certain relationship and a clear priority. The overwhelming dominance of their common material indicates a common source, one in which the four major Chaupā Singh components had already been brought together. Indeed, as we have noted above, it is probably safe to assume that the manuscript utilised by Piara Singh Padam also included the Nand Lāl prose rahit-nama and that one can accordingly recognise a common source comprising five major components. The differences are nevertheless important. They signal a divergence, one which will require closer analysis in a later section. At this point it is sufficient to note that the language and glosses of the PSP version mark it as a later recension than the main text recorded in the other three manuscripts.

The origins of the Chaupa Singh/Nand Lal text

An examination of the available texts thus indicates shared dependence on a single five-part source, together with some significant variants. The sequence which has emerged may be tabulated as follows:

Introduction	Section numbers	GNDU _ folio nos.	SRL, folio nos. -	KhC folio nos	PSP page nos 68-70
Rahit-nama (Chaupā Sirīgh) 1	1-156	(1a-20b (1a-48b	la-34b	1a-22b	70- 87
Namative (Chhibbar tradition) I	157-188	48b-62b	34b-44a	22b-29a	87-92
Rahit-nama briefly resumed	189-204	62b-65b			92-93
Narrative cont: hom ceremony	205-249	65b-82b	_	-	72-73
Rahit-nama briefly resumed	250-252	82b-83b	44b-45a	29a-b	-
Anecdotal series	253-267	836-946	45a-52a	29b-35a	_
Linking passage	268-285	946-986	52a-55a	.36b-37a	93
Rahit-nama (Chaupā Singh) II	286-568	98b-13 <i>5</i> b	55a-75a	37a-52b	93-109
Narrative (Chhibbar tradition) II	569-643	135b-174a	75a-94b	52b-67b	109-121
ChS post-colophon addendum	644-647	174a-177a	94b-96b	67b-69a	103-121 -
Rahit-nama (Nand Lāl)	Unnumbered	195a-208a	96b-104a	la-6b	48-52

This sequence constitutes what may, in a general sense, be regarded as the extant text. The existence of major variants means, of course, that the term 'extant text' is open to an obvious objection. The degree of correspondence is nevertheless sufficiently close to provide a defensible justification and if its general nature is clearly understood the term should prove useful.

At this point, however, attention is to be focused on the individual sections which have been juxtaposed to form the sequence. Our objective must first be to examine them as discrete units, endeavouring to identify their respective origins. Having pursued this issue as far as possible we shall then attempt to reconstruct the process whereby such distinctively different components were linked to form the extant text.

1. Rahit-nama (Chaupā Singh) I and II

Four of the five major components in the sequence tabulated above together constitute the bulk

of the extant Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. It has already been suggested that two of these four components were evidently drawn from a single source. These are the two portions which connciate the Rahit (sections 1-156 and 286-568). The two minor clusters of Rahit injunctions (189-204 and 250-252) presumably derive from the same source.

It seems most unlikely that the extant text represents the original version of this broken requence. Had this been the case it would probably have been marked by smoother conclusions and introductions. As it stands the structure of the text (particularly the connections between the various components) gives the distinct impression that the copyist responsible for the composite product is working intermittently from a recorded source at his

disposa

The assumption that the rahit-nama portions were derived from a common source is further attengthened by a general correspondence in terms of language. Although the differing litentions of the two sections produces a range of distinctive usages in each case, 88 there is invertheless a sufficient consistency to support the notion of a single origin. Prominent leatures which link the two include the adverbial forms hode bal and jathā sakat, the conjunction athavā, the verb varatanā, and the adjective suchet. The actual content likewise supports the common source theory. Here too the differing intentions produce distinctive runges of material, but a general consistency remains and one looks in vain for serious lineongruity or contradiction.

It therefore seems safe to conclude that the compiler of the extant text drew both of his rubit-nama sections from a single manuscript source. This, however, merely disposes of the relatively simple secondary question. The primary question concerns the origin of that single manuscript source and here we encounter serious difficulty. The traditional claim is that it was a work by the tenth Guru's personal servant Chaupa Singh. This simple claim is complicated by the complete absence of a manuscript copy of any work directly attributed to Chaupa Singh; by the consensus view that his rahit-nama (if in fact it ever existed) has been extensively

corrupted; and by the limited supply of materials for analysis.

Bhai Kahn Singh has already been cited as an example of the consensus view concerning a corrupted original. Belsewhere in Mahān Koś Kahn Singh includes an entry which implies that in his view the corrupting process must have amounted to much more than a series of amendments and interpolations. The second of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā sections is primarily concerned with a detailed examination of what constitutes a tanakhāh and who is to be regarded as a tanakhāhāā. In Sikh usage tanakhāh means a 'religious punishment' or promuce imposed for a violation of the Rahit, and a tanakhāhāa is the person who commits any such offence. According to Kahn Singh these two related terms derive from a period later than the death of Chaupa Singh. The normal meaning of tanakhāh is 'salary' and it was tanakhāh in the ordinary sense of money, land, or goods which the Mughal authorities bestowed on Sikh leaders of the Lahore and Jalandhar territories in an attempt to shore up their own crumbling authority. Any Sikh who accepted such grants was stigmatised as a tanakhāhāā by his self-respecting brethren, the word being used in a contemptuous sense corresponding to 'lilreling'. With the passing of time the word underwent a further shift in meaning and came to be applied to those who violated the Rahit. 91

The period to which Kahn Singh refers is presumably 1733-35. It was during these years that the Lahore authorities endeavoured to placate the troublesome Sikhs, notably by offering a laght to Kapur Singh. The shift in meaning from 'hireling' to 'violator of the Rahit' would lillve required a few more years and it seems safe to assume (if one accepts Kahn Singh's elymology) that the latter meaning would not have been generally current before 1740. One of the two rahit-nama sections of the extant Chaupā Singh text is firmly founded on the latter meaning and is devoted to defining it in explicit detail. There is no room here for an interpolation theory. The sense of the section is informed by a particular understanding of the key terms tanakhāh and tanakhāhīa, and if Kahn Singh's argument is carried to its logical runclusion it necessarily follows that the entire section must have been composed after 1740.

There is no evidence which suggests that the two key terms were used in their distinctively Mkh senses any earlier than the period indicated by Kahn Singh and the argument based on his

etymology is accordingly persuasive. It is supported by the length and detail of the two rahit-nama sections, and by some of the concerns which they express. Two such concerns are prominent examples of the kind of content which has prompted interpolation theories. Guru Gobind Singh could never have enjoined eternal enmity towards Muslims, nor could he have sanctioned special privilege for Brahman Sikhs. 92 It therefore follows that injunctions which give expression to such attitudes must necessarily be interpolations. This, however, assumes that the original source was a direct response to the Guru's actual instructions, written within his entourage and personally approved by him. A more convincing interpretation brings the rahit-nama's origins up to the middle of the eighteenth century and there sets them within a Chhibbar context. Vehement hostility towards Muslims was by then well established and pro-Brahman sympathies need cause no surprise if they emanate from a Chhibbar source.

It therefore seems reasonable to postulate a rahit-nama source compiled with the Chhibbar family near the middle of the eighteenth century. It is true that the Chhibbar connection receives only limited support from the actual content of the two rahit-nama sections contained within the extant Chaupā Singh text. If, however, we relate them to their context within the extant text this feature of the hypothesis becomes much firmer. The range and detail of the content points to a period well into the eighteenth century. Kahn Singh's etymology indicates a date later than 1740 and the colophon of the SRL manuscript places it prior to 1765. The context of the two sections, possibly supported by their pro-Brahman stance; points to a Chhibbar origin. Although the theory is not one which can be definitively affirmed it is at least plausible. The likelihood appears to be that the source rahit-nama was compiled in Chhibbar circles very close to the middle of the eighteenth century. One nagging doubt which must remain concerns the authenticity of the SRL colophon. There is, however, no evident reason to dispute it.

Does this conclusion destroy the Chhibbar claim, insistently advanced by both the extant text and the <code>Bansāvalī-nāmā</code>, that the Guru's servant Chaupa Singh once compiled a rahit-nama? The evidence is not sufficient to disprove this claim, though it falls far short of establishing it. What can be safely affirmed is that the rahit-nama used as a source for the extant <code>Chaupā Singh</code> text was not the work of Chaupa Singh Chhibbar. It is possible that he may have compiled or dictated an earlier text, subsequently utilised by a later generation of Chhibbar relatives. That, however, is something which presumably we shall never know.

2. Narrative (Chhibbar tradition) I and II

The two main narrative sections present a situation similar to that of the two rahit-nama portions. Both narrative sections can plausibly be traced to the same common source, and the source itself can be set within the Chhibbar family tradition. In the case of the narrative sections there seems to be no room for doubt concerning their Chhibbar provenance. It also appears that their common source (unlike that of the rahit-nama sections) was an oral tradition, not a document.

Four major features are shared by the two narrative sections. Together they point unmistakably to a common source of a particular kind.

a) Common Attribution. Both sections are attributed to Chaupa Singh and both use the specific wording das chaupā singh or mai[n] das chaupā singh. 93

b) Common Language. Both sections are written in the same vigorous mixture of Lahndi and Majhi. The interlacing of the two dialects is particularly evident in the various tenses of the substantive verb. Both sections fluctuate in their usage, the usage in each case reflecting the dominant concern of the section. Because the first section chronicles the past the Lahndi form which appears is $\bar{a}he$, used as a past tense. The second section, by contrast, looks to the future, with the result that frequent use is made of hosī and hosan. Both sections make repeated use of the idiomatic Lahndi form bachan hoā. Both are also distinguished by their shared preference for the titles sāhib and pūran purakh rather than gurū.

c) Common Themes. The following themes appear in both sections:

	Narrative I	Narrative II
The Chhibbars exalted	162, 170-174	583-586
The Muslim threat	159	589-591 595 508

The setting apart of the Panth	178, 183, 248-49	570, 590-93, 595-96
The disloyalty of the masands	184-188	590

I) Common Tradition. The fact that both narrative sections derive from a common tradition is most strikingly demonstrated by their shared relationship to Kesar Singh Chhibbar's *llunsāvalī-nāmā*. In the case of the first narrative section the relationship is illustrated by the pussages which describe the following incidents:

The consecration of Guru Gobind Singh	Chāupa Singh 168-169	Bansāvali-nāma 9:160-6
The appointment of Sahib Chand and Dharam Chand	170-173	10:25-28
Devi Das's homilies Failure to secure the original Adi	174	10:13-14, 24, 31
Granth	176	10;295-6, 376-7
The institution of kes baptism	178-183	10:305-30
Cheto and other disobedient masands	184-186	10:331-55
The fire ritual to summon Mata Devi	208-235	10:53-175

A comparison of their respective treatments in each instance shows that there are differences of detail which distinguish the <code>Bansavali-nama</code> chronicle from that of the <code>Chaupa</code> <code>Singh Rahit-nama</code>. When, for example, siropas are presented to Sahib Chand and Dharam Chand the former claims that they were brought by Chaupa Singh, whereas the latter names the bearer as Sadhu Ram. ⁹⁴ There is, however, a considerable area of close resemblance together with some striking cases of total convergence. ⁹⁵ Both works enunciate the same four-fold division of the Khalsa in their accounts of the Mata Devi fire ritual; ⁹⁶ and the <code>Bansavali-nama</code> shares with the <code>Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama</code> its anxious concern for the status of Brahmans within the Panth.

The pattern of correspondence revealed by this comparison makes the existence of a common source-tradition abundantly clear. The same pattern applies in the case of the second marrative sequence incorporated in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. The second sequence corresponds to the Bansāvalī-nāmā in its repeated use of the key word raulā (tumult) as a description of contemporary times; and the two accounts present parallel treatments of the traditional cosmogonic schema with its promise of the Kalki theophany. The fact that the two Chaupā Singh narrative sequences belong to the same tradition is illustrated by the reappearance of the four-fold division of the Khalsa in the second sequence. Plainly there is a common tradition, and because each narrative section shares it with the Bansāvalī-nāmā they also share it with each other.

Two conclusions follow from this range of common characteristics. The first is that both narrative sections are drawn from the same source; and the second is that it was clearly a Chhibbar source. As we have already indicated, there is no evidence which suggests that this common source existed in the form of a manuscript. Had this been the case it would presumably have been named by Kesar Singh Chhibbar in his list of sources. 99 Kesar Singh mentions no such document. Instead he frequently cites sunī sunāī hearsay. 100 This, it seems, was his principal source and this 'hearsay' we can identify, in large measure, with Chhibbar oral tradition. Shared dependence on a mutable oral tradition also serves to explain the numerous differences of detail which distinguish the Chaupā Singh and Bansāvalī-nāmā treatment of common material. A document would have fixed the details. It would also have conferred a greater measure of verbal correspondence on its two descendants.

Within this oral tradition of the Chhibbar family two distinct interests can be perceived. One was a historical interest, a chronology of the family's past with particular emphasis on its record of service to the Gurus. The other was an interpretation of contemporary events, one which took a particularly hostile view of the Panth's mid-century leadership and predicted a decline into total chaos as a result of its selfish disloyalty. The first of these interests provided the source for all that was recorded in the first of the Chaupā Singh narrative sequences. The second narrative sequence continued to draw from this historical tradition, but its primary concern focuses on the family view of contemporary developments. The Bansāvalī-nāmā likewise draws from both sectors of the family tradition.

This much seems clear, but once again the role of Chaupa Singh Chhibbar remains uncertain. Although the extant text is insistent in its claims that the narrative material derives from him, reasons for doubting these claims persist. At most we can acknowledge a possibility. Chaupa Singh could conceivably have left oral reminiscences which the Chhibbar family preserved and transmitted. As with the rahit-nama sections, however, it is a weak possibility. Four features point to this conclusion:

a) One's suspicions are aroused by the claim that Chaupa Singh was personally involved in an incident concerning the mysterious appearance of a ghostly sadhu. ¹⁰¹ Anecdotes of this kind are sometimes amenable to rational interpretation, but normally they spell legend.

b) Much of the second narrative section reflects the circumstances of the mid-eighteenth century, a generation after the death of Chaupa Singh.

c) The Chhibbars who are exalted in both sections are not in fact the lineage of Chaupa Singh. They are members of the collateral line descended from Chaupa Singh's uncle Praga. 102 The extant text represents a version commissioned by a member of this collateral line, Gurbakhsh Singh; and Gurbakhsh Singh's father is the object of particular attention. 103 The distinctively Chhibbar emphasis offered by the two narrative portions strongly suggests an origin within Gurbakhsh Singh's own lineage rather than that of Chaupa Singh. Both were probably first committed to writing under the direct patronage of Gurbakhsh Singh.

d) Much of the narrative which involves Chaupa Singh personally (such incidents as the first Khalsa initiation) is in conflict with other sources. If in fact Chaupa Singh did bestow an oral narrative tradition on his Chhibbar successors, either it must have been studded with inaccuracies or, alternatively, it must have been subjected to substantial change and augmentation during the period of subsequent transmission. It is difficult to accept the historical portions of the extant Chaupā Singh text as the accurate reporting of an eye-witness participant. If they do represent accurate reporting some major rewriting of Khalsa history will be required.

3. The first recension of the extant text

Within the extant text there is a colophon which seems to mark a clear stage in its formation. The following words appear at the conclusion of the second narrative section:

The Supreme Guru in his mercy performed that most wondrous deed, the creation of the Panth; and on Chaupa Singh he conferred the gift of understanding [whereby the recording of this rahit-nama was made possible. The original document bears] the signature of Bulaka Singh, the amanuensis appointed with the approval of the Master [Guru Gobind Singh. The present copy of] the rahit-nama was recorded at the instance of Gurbakhsh Singh, son of the Guru's treasurer Dharam Chand the Chhibbar Brahman. 104

This colophon appears before the Nand Lal portion of the extant text, terminating an original four-part sequence which comprises the two rahit-nama portions and the two narrative sections. There is no reason why the substance of this colophon should be disbelieved. We have already shown cause to question the existence of a document bearing the imprimatur of Guru Gobind Singh, but this scepticism need not extend to the claim that Gurbakhsh Singh Chhibbar commissioned a compilation which included both rahit-nama and narrative. On the contrary, it fits our hypothesis admirably. We may thus conclude that the first recension of the so-called Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā was recorded near the middle of the eighteenth century in response to instructions issued by Gurbakhsh Singh Chhibbar. The language of the compiler was a mixture of Majhi and Lahndi, a feature which suggests that the task was probably performed with the home territory of the Chhibbars (the Jammu/Jhelum area).

One may ask why Gurbakhsh Singh (or his agent) should have compiled a text which, at first sight, seems so disjointed. A two-part text (one for the complete rahit-nama and one for the entire narrative) might well appear to be a more logical, consistent sequence. Closer analysis suggests, however, that there is a logic implicit in the four-part sequence. Each part

possesses a distinctive character and the sequence may be represented as follows:

n) the requirements of the Rahit;

the origins of the Rahit;violations of the Rahit;

(i) contemporary neglect of the Rahit and its imminent consequences.

This is not merely a logical sequence. It is also one which may serve to explain why the nurrative portions have found their way into a work avowedly designed to expound the Rahit. The first recension of the extant text has a consistency which may not be evident to a cursory glance. It seems that our original Chhibbar compiler may not have been as inept as first impressions might suggest.

4. Rahit-nama (Nand Lal)

(lurbakhsh Singh's colophon makes it clear that the prose rahit-nama attributed to Nand Lal was no part of the original compilation. It is, however, evident that this interesting supplement was added to the first recension within the space of a few years. This is indicated by the date of the SRL manuscript and by the manner in which it incorporates the Nand Lal Rahit-nāmā. It is most unlikely that the Nand Lal Rahit-nama was first appended to a Chaupa Singh text by the SRL copyist. As we shall see, the Nand Lal text seems to have been filtered through the Chhibbar tradition, and it is scarcely possible that two Chhibbar products should have been first brought together by a copyist working in far-off Jind. The linking of the two rahit-namas was presumably done by a predecessor, prior to 1765. This is indicated by the fact that the (INDU manuscript obviously belongs to a textual lineage independent of SRL. It is inconceivable that the fuller, more accurate GNDU text could have descended from the briefer SRL version with its numerous errors. From this it follows that the two lineages must be traced to an earlier original which first brought the two rahit-namas together. The same conclusion is supported by the manner in which the SRL copyist commenced the Nand Lal portion of his text without starting a new line. 105 This suggests that he was working from a manuscript which had already brought the two rahit-namas together.

From the version recorded in all the extant manuscripts it seems clear that the Nand Lāl appendix originally existed as a distinct and separate-rahit-nama. Its distinctive quality is implied by the use of a formal invocation to introduce the new material, and is confirmed by the recognisably different approach which it adopts. It appears, however, that the Chhibbar tradition appropriated only a portion of the separate rahit-nama. This is suggested by the abrupt beginning which follows the invocation and by the fragmentary form of the recorded Nand Lāl

The most conspicuous example of difference in content and approach is provided by the Nand Lāl attitude towards Brahmans. Although there are evident signs of editorial softening the original thrust of the Nand Lāl message seems plainly to have been an uncompromising rejection of Brahmanical privilege and authority within the Panth. Some distinctive usages also support the notion of a separate origin. The expression pūran purakh favoured in Chaupā Slhgh does not appear in Nand Lāl, and sāhib, which appears only once, 106 seems to refer to Akal Purakh rather than to the Guru. The word gurū is repeatedly used and satigurū appears several times. This is not the Chaupā Singh style, nor is the Nand Lāl treatment of passages from the sacred scriptures. Whereas the Chaupā Singh text almost invariably prefaces scriptural quotations with the formula sākh granth sāhib jī (or a variant version) the Nand Lāl text presents its four examples unannounced.

There are thus differences which distinguish the Nand Lāl and Chaupā Singh texts. Equally clear, however, are features which link the extant text of the Nand Lāl Rahit-nāmā with the Chhibbar tradition. This is evident not merely from the fact that it has been appended to the Chhibbar product, but also from a general harmony of language and from the editorial attention noted above. Although the Nand Lāl prose contains its own distinctive terminology it is nevertheless couched in the same mixture of Kendari and Lahndi as that of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. Verb forms are generally Kendari, but one encounters Lahndi forms with a frequency corresponding to Chaupā Singh usage. 107 The editorial attention appears in an attempt to redirect the shafts aimed at Brahmans. The Nand Lāl rejection of Brahmanical status and authority occurs in several places and is normally unqualified. 108 There is, however, one

passage which distinguishes acceptable Brahmans from the unacceptable. The Brahmans who are to be spurned are those who defile their status by smoking tobacco or eating meat. 109

Others, by clear implication, are to be regarded as worthy and approved.

The contradiction with regard to Brahmanical authority seems clear and is best explained as an editorial gloss. If this is correct it can be safely assumed that the amendment must derive from those rare examples of Brahman Sikhs, the Chhibbars. The language correspondence and the manuscript linkage support this assumption. It accordingly seems likely that part of a non-Chhibbar rahit-nama has been introduced into the Chhibbar corpus, its entry smoothed by a measure of language and content editing. This, however, appears to be the limit of our knowledge concerning the origins of the Nand Lāl text. The possibility that it might be correctly attributed to the famous Nand Lal Goya of the tenth Guru's entourage can be safely discarded. The text does not in fact claim his authorship. It merely purports to record a conversation between the Guru and Nand Lal and in so doing offers no evidence which might support its claim. The claim cannot be simply accepted at face value, for attributions of this kind were a stock method of asserting doctrinal authority. Nand Lal has been a favoured figure in this respect. This prose text is one of three rahit-namas which claim to report his conversations with Guru Gobind Singh.

5. Anecdotal sequence and linking passage

The series of anecdotes which runs from 253 to 267 is a puzzle. Together with the linking passage which follows it (268-285) this sequence constitutes the most perplexing portion of the entire text, at least with regard to its origins and the timing of its introduction into the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. Did it form a part of the original composite text, or was it added at a later stage?

The fact that the sequence was included in the SRL text demonstrates that it must have been introduced at a comparatively early stage. This alone, however, does not establish its claim to be a part of the original compilation. The claim can be defended on the following grounds:

a) The sequence (unlike the Nand Lāl Rahit-nāmā) is incorporated in the numbering system of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā.

b) The hostility towards Khatris which it displays matches the Chhibbar attitude expressed elsewhere in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā (section 579).

As opposed to these features the following may be held to dispute the claim:

a) The PSP text lacks the anecdotal sequence.

b) The language of the sequence incorporates a stronger Kendari influence than that of the other narrative portions included in the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā*.

c) The transitions which precede and follow the sequence are singularly awkward.

Of these three latter arguments the second and third are particularly persuasive, strongly suggesting that the anecdotal sequence and linking passage must have been introduced by a copyist after an original four-part text had been recorded. The fact that they form a part of the numbering system must surely mean, however, that if not a part of the original text they were certainly introduced at a very early stage. If this was indeed the case it would, of course, follow that the numbering system was not a part of the original version.

6. The Chaupa Singh post-colophon addendum

It is clear from the colophon which appears as section 643 of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā that the text commissioned by Gurbakhsh Singh Chhibbar terminated at this point. The PSP text does in fact end here, but not the other manuscripts. An addendum has been attached to the version which appears in GNDU, SRL, and the Khalsa College manuscript (644-647). Most of this addendum records material which merely extends the preceding section's apocalyptic description of the time of tumult. Set within it, however, is the claim that the Guru conferred blessing on an unidentified Bhai Mittu and his descendants. This claim presumably points to the reason for introducing the addendum. The entire passage sustains the Lahndi influence of the preceding narrative. This, together with its apocalyptic content, suggests that it originated

Within the Chhibbar circle.

1. The introduction appended to the PSP text.

The introductory prologue attached to the PSP text¹¹¹ purports to relate the circumstances in which the first rahit-nama was recorded. Although it evidently draws on the Chhibbar tradition it contradicts the standard claim that the first rahit-nama was prepared by Chaupa Singh. The link, it asserts, was performed by a group of mukate Sikhs. 112 Chaupa Singh is nowhere mentioned. The prologue also contradicts the main text by prohibiting recourse to Brahmans for ceremonial purposes. 113

The connection with the Chhibbar tradition is indicated by the role assigned to mukate Sikhs and parts of the text indicate direct influence from the Bansāvalī-nāmā. This, it seems, was probably the source of the distinctive terminology employed in the introductory prologue. The story which it tells is, however, a deviant tradition and the modernity of its language indicates an origin much later than that of the main Chaupā Singh text. The principal importance of this appended introduction is the assistance which it provides in dating the PSP text. In its present form the PSP text is obviously much later than that recorded in the GNDU and SRL manuscripts. It is impossible to date it accurately, but it evidently carries us well into the nineteenth century. Indeed, it may carry us as far as the beginning of the twentieth century. This possibility is suggested by its support for the Anand marriage ceremony and its opposition to caste discrimination within the Panth. These concerns may well point to the period of the Singh Sabha reform movement. 115

III. CONTENT

The Khalsa Rahit according to the Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama

Although the two rahit-nama sections of the Chaupā Singh text agree in terms of ideology and content they differ considerably with regard to format. Whereas the first sequence (sections 1:156) enunciates positive precepts, the second (286-568) chiefly comprises a lengthy list of offences which require reparation. Stray injunctions are also to be found in other parts of the text, particularly in the linking passage which leads into the catalogue of offences (268-285).

The positive purpose of the Rahit is well expressed by the quotations from sacred scripture which the compiler sets at the beginning and end of his formal exposition. The fundamental manumption which lies behind the existence of the Rahit is belief in the reality of karam (karma) and $\bar{a}v\bar{a}gavan$, of transmigration in accordance with the discharge of one's dharam (tharma). He who faithfully discharges the obligations of his dharam will earn for himself the means of release from the round of death and rebirth. Guru Nanak had taught that the means of release was to be found in the divine Name $(n\bar{a}m)$. The secret lay in devout meditation on the divine Name $(n\bar{a}m simaran)$ and in living a life of corresponding piety. The Rahit, traditionally believed to have been promulgated by the tenth Guru, specifies in explicit detail the attitudes and behaviour which constitute true living for any follower of the Guru. For the loyal Sikh dharam is defined as undivided allegiance to the Guru. The actual practice of this allegiance means unswerving obedience to the Guru's Rahit.

The Rahit thus comprises a pattern of law and regulation, voluntarily accepted by those who recognise their true *dharam* as loyalty to the Guru. It is, however, more than an individual preference chosen by those who appreciate its worth and practised in isolation from other members of the society. It is emphatically corporate and any individual who attaches his total allegiance to the Guru must necessarily identify with all others who acknowledge the same allegiance. He must, in other words, become a member of the Guru's Khalsa, the Khalsa Panth.

This corporate identity implies a further dimension. If there is to be order and discipline within the Panth there must obviously be sanctions. This, in turn, means that transgressions must be viewed as culpable offences threatening the Panth's stability. Appropriate penalties should therefore be devised to deter the lax and wayward. This need led to the concept of

tanakhāh. Any Sikh who violates the Rahit and thus threatens to subvert the Khalsa Panth is to be compared with those treacherous hirelings who serve the Panth's enemies in return for remuneration (tanakhāh). In response to this comparison the word quickly underwent a change of meaning. Ever since the mid-eighteenth century the penalty or penance for an offence against the Rahit has been known as a tanakhāh and the offender as a tanakhāhīā. 119

The concept of tanakhāh looms large in the Chaupā Singh presentation of the Rahit and almost all the items recorded in the second section conclude with the formula so tanakhāhīā, '[he/she] is a tanakhahia'. This produces a standard format: 'The Sikh who [offence specified] is a tanakhahia'. Less clear is the procedure whereby guilt is to be recognised and declared, the nature of the punishment which is to be imposed and the sanctions which were available to enforce it. It seems that the answers to these practical questions were sufficiently familiar in the mid-eighteenth century to be taken for granted. Later readers must therefore rely largely on hint and assumption.

One safe assumption is that the judgement process would have involved the local sangat. An item which appears as section 306 may imply that the local village headman performed a role in this respect. In Sikh society, however, the sangat is traditionally supreme, and it should cause no surprise if a rahit-nama compiler should take its function and its supremacy for granted. 120 One variety of penalty is clearly stated elsewhere in the Chaupā Singh text. Five hundred rupees are brought to Guru Gobind Singh by his treasurer and are specifically declared to be the proceeds from tanakhāh fines. 121 Other forms of punishment would presumably have included penitential service in the dharamsala. The sanction which ensured its performance would doubtless have been the pressure of opinion within the sangat.

Information concerning judicial procedures and punishments is thus very scanty. The compiler's objective was to state the demands of the Rahit as he understood it and this he does in abundant detail. ¹²² Although he occasionally groups his injunctions and misdemeanours according to topic ¹²³ most are recorded with little concern for coherence or logical sequence. There is, however, obvious benefit to be gained from systematising the compiler's random scatter and the remainder of the section will be directed to this purpose. Where convenient a literal translation will be used, but much of the material will be presented in paraphrased form. This should enable us to achieve greater coherence by abbreviating some items and conflating others. Injunctions which are relevant to more than one part of the total pattern will be repeated in a few important instances. Others which are duplicated will be omitted. Needless to say, every effort has been made to represent the import of each item faithfully and no extraneous materal has been introduced. In all cases the source section is indicated in parentheses after the injunction.

THE RAHIT (CHAUPĀ SINGH TEXT)

1. Personal behaviour

a) General principles:

(i) A Gursikh must be benevolent and sympathetic, fair and impartial, patient and forgiving, compassionate, generous, never mean. [39, 40, 104, 120, 121, 189]

(ii) It is the Guru's will that every Sikh should show love towards others and express that love in service. The Gursikh who sows love and affection will reap blessings a thousandfold. [88,153]

(iii) A Gursikh should never be proud, arrogant or deceitful, [34-35, 471]

- (iv) Anger is particularly polluting and must be avoided while eating, giving charity, or singing hymns. [123]
- (v) A Gursikh should associate with others of exemplary character in order that he may assimilate their qualities of love, trust, piety and wisdom. He should never associate with the perverse. [120, 121, 123]

(vi) A Gursikh should never break his word. [465]

(vii) The qualities which accompany the faithful Gursikh at death are compassion, charity, austerities, devotion, continence, truth, humility, his faith as a Sikh, service to the Guru and service to others. [270-273]

b) Doctrine and devotion

The Gursikh should praise and glorify the Guru, and should obey his commands. He should never criticise the Guru, nor should he permit others to do so. He should never pretend to be the Guru's equal. [125, 448, 534]

The ten Gurus must be recognised as ten incarnations of the one eternal Guru, [502]

A Gursikh should show respect to:

- descendants of the Gurus;

- places associated with the Gurus:

- all who serve the Gurus;

- the Gurus' writings [107, 449].

Every Gursikh should know the Guru's mantra (guramantar)¹²⁴ and should learn Japii by heart. He should recite the Guru's mantra and Japii every day. [87, 337,

A Gursikh should read or hear the Guru's Word every day, and should regularly meditate on it. He should accept the spiritual message (sikhi) communicated by the Granth Sahib. [126, 548]

A Gursikh should memorize portions of the Gurus' writings. [149] (vi)

A Gursikh should regularly repeat 'vāh gurū'. 125 [142, 504]

The daily discipline

During the last watch of the night a Gursikh should rise and bathe (or at least perform the five ablutions). 126 He should then recite Japjī five times, together with any other bani which he may know by heart, and should conclude with Ardas 127 Next he should proceed to the dharamsala where he should make an offering, prostrate himself, and join his fellow Sikhs in praise to the Guru. He should then proceed to his daily labours. [1-2]

At dusk he should participate in Sodar Rahirās, 128 preferably in a dharamsala but otherwise at his home. After his evening meal he should join his fellow Sikhs at

worship in the dharamsala. [3]

Before sleeping he should perform kirtan. [120]

il) Dress and outward appearance

(I) Clothing

1. A Kes-dhari Sikh is not permitted to wear either a cap (topī) or a loin-cloth.

2. A Gursikh's tunic must be fastened at the front, not at the side. [380]

3. A Gursikh should never wear red garments. [381]

4. A Gursikh should never sleep naked. He should wear at least a kachh, and should also wear a turban. 129 [191, 477-78]

15. A Gursikh should wear a kachh, carry a kirpan, and keep his hair uncut (kachh, $kirap\bar{a}n$, kes), (7a) 1^{130}

(II) Hair and kes

1. The hair of a Kes-dhari Sikh must be left uncut from birth. His kes, facial hair, body hair, and pubic hair must all remain uncut. [54, 61, 80, 295, 360]

2. A Sahaj-dhari Sikh may remove his body hair with scissors, but he must not touch either his beard or (if living as a family man) his pubic hair. [53, 54, 287]

3. Hair should always be kept clean. It must never be dyed. [54, 347]

4. The Gursikh must always protect the dignity of his kes and thus preserve the honour of his Sikh faith. The kes is the outward symbol of the inward faith of the Sikh. It is the seal of the Guru, the visible sign of loyalty to his teachings, [92, 145]

5. The Gursikh should take care of his kes. He should comb it twice a day and wash it with curds. It should never be touched with dirty hands, and it must be protected from

insect infestation. [92, 335-36, 527-28]

6. The kes must not be washed with soap or salt-earth detergent. If possible it should be washed with curds. The curds must not be made from sheep's milk. [335, 390, 482]

7. The hair of the kes should never be vigorously winnowed with one's hands when drying it after washing, [473]

8. The kes must never be permitted to remain tangled, [524]

9. White hairs must not be plucked from the kes. [346]

10. The hair of the beard must not be nibbled with one's teeth, nor should it be trimmed with scissors or plucked with tweezers. [411]

11. The kes must be kept covered when walking in a bazaar, sitting in a bazaar, travelling,

or eating. [518-21]

12. The kes must never be allowed to hang loose in the presence of women.[525]

13. An adult male Sikh must not permit women to pick insects out of his kes. [522]

14. Always use terms of respect when referring to one's kes. Never call it 'hair' (vāl). After washing the kes speak of 'refreshing' it, not 'drying' it. [510, 526]

(iii) The turban

1. A turban must be freshly tied each time it is put on. [334]

2. A Kes-dhari Sikh must never use a waist-cloth as a turban. [297]

3. A Gursikh must never pull another Sikh's turban, nor knock it from his head. If his own turban falls to the ground he must apologise. [312-13, 323]

4. The turban should not be removed before eating. [542]5. A turban should be worn while sleeping. [191, 478]

e) Bathing

(i) A Gursikh should never bathe naked. He should wear a kachh. [148, 340]

(ii) A Gursikh must bathe after sexual intercourse. [5, 368]

(iii) A Gursikh should never pour strained water on his head. [19]

(iv) A Gursikh should never bathe at a dhobi ghat. [119]

f) Personal hygiene

(i) Hands must be washed before kneading dough. [105]

(ii) Before eating a Gursikh should wash his hands and rinse his mouth. [8]

(iii) Finger-nails should not be permitted to grow long. [105]

- (iv) Never defecate in a field of grain or beside water. Do not speak while defecating. [475, 476, 540]
- (v) After defecating a Gursikh should use earth to cleanse his anus, employing only his left hand in the process. He should then perform the five ablutions. The mere washing of hands is not sufficient. [106, 333, 466]

(vi) After urinating a Gursikh must wash his hands. [475]

g) Family responsibility

(i) Parents must be cared for, and they should always be obeyed provided that they are themselves obedient to the Guru. [371, 426, 428]

(ii) A Gursikh should instruct his family dependents in the Guru's teaching (guramati) and the duties which these teachings require. [122]

(iii) Any Gursikh who possesses the means should make provision for wife and family in the event of his death. [122]

(iv) As he approaches old age a Gursikh should transfer his responsibilities to his offspring and increasingly devote himself to attending the satsang. [122]

h) Sexual morality

(i) A married Sikh may have intercourse with his wife only during the second and third watches of the night. If he has sexual relations during the night he must bathe completely when he arises. [4, 5, 368]

(ii) A Gursikh must never stare at another's wife, nor may he have intercourse with her. Adultery is forbidden. [11, 370]

(iii) Intercourse with a Muslim prostitute is strictly forbidden. [396]

i) Speech and manner of address

A Gursikh should never speak offensively, nor should he use bitter words which may cause distress. He should always speak with kindness and affection. [119, 121]

j) Illness and need

- (i) In times of need or distress a Gursikh should arise during the last watch of the night, repeat Japji five times, and proceed to the dharamsala. There he should offer petition to the Guru and service to the sangat. The Guru will grant him the peace which he seeks. [25]
- (ii) Ardas may be said daily on behalf of a Sikh who is ill. If this is done he must serve a thanksgiving meal when he recovers. [489]

(III) A Gursikh must accept without complaint whatever response the Satguru may make to a petition. [536]

k) Charity

From the proceeds of his labours every Gursikh should set aside a tenth part for the Guru. The Guru's portion should be taken from each heap of winnowed grain. This offering should be used to feed other Sikhs in the Guru's name, particularly those who are poor. [131] [48, 392]

Every Gursikh should regard a pauper's mouth as the Guru's alms-box. [23]

(III) If a Gursikh encounters a needy Sikh he should provide him with shelter. If possible he should have his clothes washed, enable him to wash his hair, and serve him food.[101]

Ardas offerings are to be made to a person duly authorised by the sangat. This person must dispense the collection honestly and must not bury it for his own future use.

[364-66]

A portion of the Ardas offerings may be given to descendants of the Gurus, but they
must not pass any of it on to Muslim authorities. [367]

i) ()aths and vows

1) A Gursikh should never require another Sikh to swear a false oath, nor should he himself swear an oath which harms an honourable man. [451-52]

(II) If a Gursikh vows to donate anything in return for the divine granting of a favour he must honour his promise in full, withholding nothing, [56]

1. Social behaviour within the Panth 132

n) Relationships with other Sikhs

(I) A Gursikh should regard all fellow Sikhs as members of the Guru's family and thus as his own relatives. He should serve all other Sikhs with love and affection, and should never cause grief or distress to any of them. He should never look with evil intent on the family or possessions of another Sikh. [22, 39, 72, 73, 76, 79, 94, 319, 484]

 A Gursikh should never betray another Sikh's trust, nor disappoint his reasonable expectations. [59, 446, 531]

(III) A Gursikh should never obstruct another Sikh who is engaged in legitimate activity. [469]

(Iv) The first-fruits of each harvest should be eaten by another Sikh. [78]

(i) Courtesy in speech and behaviour

 A Gursikh should never criticise another Sikh nor quarrel with him. He must not abuse him, ridicule him, speak sarcastically to him or address obscenities to him. [57, 304, 309, 415, 417, 454]

Descendants of the Gurus should be treated with particular respect. They should

receive a special welcome whenever they visit any village. [107, 413]

II) A Gursikh must never insult another Sikh by making rude gestures, pulling his turban, knocking off his turban, pulling the hair of his kes, or grasping his beard. [310-15]

v) Do not be discourteous to poor Sikhs. A Gursikh should not keep a poor Sikh waiting

while he finishes his meal. [18, 358, 412]

(v) Do not address another Sikh by only half of his name. [408]

vi) Always attend a fellow Sikh's funeral if possible. [447]

When drawing water from a well always serve it to any Sikh who requests a drink.

[514]

(vIII) An invitation to dine from another Sikh should not be thrice postponed. [495]

(lx) Never awaken a sleeping Sikh by kicking him. [530]

u) Assistance in times of need

(i) Gursikhs should help fellow Sikhs who are in need. Assistance should always be given to a Sikh who requests it in the Guru's name. [25-27,421, 486]

(li) Always aid a wounded, disabled or exhausted Sikh on the battlefield. [418]

(iii) If a Gursikh is afflicted by financial need or other misfortune his fellow Sikhs should assist him. [136]

- (iv) A fellow Sikh must be warned if others perceive that his business affairs are in danger or that his plans are at risk. [357]
- (v) Shelter and assistance should be given to a Sikh traveller who is in need. [135, 515]

d) Hospitality

(i) A Gursikh must share his food with other Sikhs. Whenever he eats he should invite another Sikh to join him. Any Sikh who visits his house must be fed as generously as circumstances permit. [2, 63, 111, 316, 352, 404]

(ii) A Gursikh should not eat good food himself and serve inferior food to another Sikh. [358]

(iii) A Gursikh should invite poor Sikhs to eat with him, not merely those who may be regarded as respectable. [423]

iv) A Gursikh should not take possession of a bed if it means that other Sikhs must sleep on the floor.[354-355]

If a visiting Sikh wishes to wash his hair he should be given curds if any are available. [391]

(vi) If a Gursikh has a poor Sikh staying in his house he should arrange to have the poor Sikh's clothes washed. [393]

e) Business dealings

(i) Gursikhs should have business dealings only with other Sikhs. [17]

(ii) Honest Sikhs should be permitted to conduct their business without interference. [459]

(iii) If two Sikhs are involved in a business dispute they must effect a reconciliation before nightfall. [55]

 (iv) A Sikh who has suffered a loss in trading should not be required to repay outstanding debts in full. [456]

(v) A Gursikh should never take a bribe for services performed on behalf of another Sikh. [481]

(vi) Never dismiss a Sikh servant and employ someone else in his place. [444-45]

(vii) A Sikh servant must always receive his due wages. [464]

f) Treatment of women

 A Gursikh should never keep company with women belonging to another man's family. [341]

(ii) A Gursikh should never trust a woman, neither his own nor another's. Never entrust a secret to them. Regard them as the embodiment of deceit. [100]

(iii) Never touch the feet of any woman other than one's own mother. [343]

(iv) Never eat food left by a woman. [342](v) Never curse a respectable woman. [443]

i) Never use weapons against a woman. [192]

g) Disputes between Sikhs

No Sikh should ever attack another Sikh, nor should he provoke disagreement between Sikhs. [79, 319, 350]

(ii) Any Sikh who deliberately has another Sikh imprisoned, plundered or killed should be completely ostracised. He who kills another Sikh will go to hell (narak). [79, 462]

iii) If two Sikhs are fighting they must immediately desist when so commanded by another Sikh. [532]

(iv) Disputes between Sikhs must be settled within the Panth. They should not be taken to a magistrate, unless the magistrate is a Sikh. [459-60, 470]

3. Caste 133

(i) Personal relationships amongst Sikhs should be based on the belief that there is only one caste (gotra) and only one lineage for those who are followers of the one true Guru. [79]

(ii) Sikhs should, however, observe the distinctive customs of their various castes, and they should marry according to the traditional prescriptions of caste and lineage. This they should do in order that no stigma may attach to their name. 134 [11, 121]

(iii) Sikh marriages should be performed by Brahmans. [120]

(iv) Brahman Sikhs should receive double the deference and attention normally bestowed

on a Sikh. Any Sikh who imparts the teachings of the Guru should be similarly honoured. [24]

(v) At meals, however, Brahmans should not be seated in front of others. All should be required to sit in the same line and Brahmans should not necessarily be served first. [499]

1 The sangat

a) The satsang

(1) A Gursikh should regularly join with other Sikhs to hear the sacred scriptures sung and expounded. Associating with others of piety and wisdom he acquires the same qualities. [123]

1) Four blessings are conferred when Sikhs gather. The scriptures are read and sung; the deeper issues of the Sikh faith are explored; a better understanding of the Rahit is acquired; and each Sikh is encouraged to give alms according to his means. [96]

(III) A Gursikh may participate only in a Sikh satsang. [480]

 In a Sikh satsang one may only read passages from the sacred scriptures and sing kirtan. Other works are not permitted. [118, 345]

V) In any Sikh assembly all must sit in lines without reference to individual status. The only exceptions are descendants of the Gurus and those who are leading the singing. They should be given seats at the front of the gathering. [97, 289]

vi) Women may meet in a separate satsang. [539]

(vii) Do not stand up in any Sikh assembly without good reason for so doing. [302]

(vill) Do not talk excessively in a satsang, [117-18]

(IX) Do not dispute the verdict or consensus of a satsang. [277]

(N) Every Gursikh should learn humility by placing in a row the shoes of those attending a satsang. [98]

(i) The dharamsala

(i) Every village or locality with Gursikh homes should maintain a dharamsala dedicated to the Guru. There the sangat should regularly gather in the presence of the Granth Sahib to read from the scriptures and sing kirtan. The dharamsala should also include facilities for Sikhs who may need a place to stay. [1, 3, 144, 494]

There must be free access to every dharamsala. No Sikh should be prevented from

entering, [416]

If there is a dharamsala in any village the Sikhs of that village must visit it regularly. When a Sikh enters he should make an offering of flowers, fruit, or money and prostrate himself. [1, 3, 494]

(IV) If a Sikh passes a dharamsala while the scriptures are being read or kirtan sung he

should enter and prostrate himself. [498]

(v) There should be no talking while kirtan is being sung, nor during a scriptural reading or a religious discourse. [388, 501, 529]

vi) Rahiras 135 should be sung in dharamsalas each evening at dusk. At its conclusion the officiating Gursikh should address those assembled with the cry: 'Hail to the Guru's victory!' [3, 133]

Every Sikhni should daily contribute to the dharamsala kitchen a handful of flour from

her family's supply. [561]

r) 'l'he dharamsalia

(I) The person placed in charge of a dharamsala (the dharamsalia) should possess all virtues. He should be faithful in the conduct of divine worship and rituals. He should instruct the Sikh boys of his locality in the contents of the Granth Sahib, teaching them its hymns and how to sing kirtan. [69, 71, 72]

II) A dharamsalia should never be arrogant, deceitful, or wanton. He should be neither lustful nor prone to anger, neither a slanderer nor one puffed up with pride. [32]

The Sikhs of each locality should support their dharamsalia. He should be entitled to receive a portion of the offerings made in the dharamsala. He should accept nothing from descendants of the Gurus and he should steal from no one. [32, 33, 70]

(Iv) A dharamsalia should be celibate. Women's quarters should not be provided. [69, 71]
 (v) A dharamsalia should remain the humble servant of the sangat. He should never lay

claim to superior status. [72]

5. The Guru Granth Sahib

a) Preparation and care of the sacred volume.

(i) Any Gursikh who is able to copy the Granth Sahib should prepare a volume and present it to his sangat. He should ask nothing for this service, but may accept anything that he is given. [64, 68]

(ii) The sacred volume must never be kept in a demeaning place. It must always be set in a place of honour. [493]

(iii) The sacred volume should be placed on a lectern (mañji). A wrapping-cloth (rumāl) and whisk should be provided. These must never be removed. [16, 383]

(iv) Never turn one's back on the Granth Sahib while sitting in its presence. [434]

b) Reading the Granth Sahib

(i) The Granth Sahib is to be reverenced as the Guru. Every Gursikh should regularly read or hear it, and should meditate on its meaning. Thus shall he lay hold of the Sikh faith. [126, 138]

(ii) Before touching the sacred volume a Gursikh must wash his hands. Before reading it he must bathe or at least perform the five ablutions. [139, 437, 467]

(iii) While reading the Granih Sahib a Gursikh must never sit on a stool or string bed which is higher than the sacred volume itself, and should not rest his forehead on his hand. [131, 435, 450]

 (iv) A Sikh who is reading or expounding a portion of the Granth Sahib is never to be interrupted, [483]

(v) The Granth Sahib should never be read by a person who is naked. [339]

(vi) One must speak respectfully when announcing that a reading has been completed. The reader should then touch the ground or floor with his forehead. [131, 508]

(vii) Do not use a piece of straw as a book-mark, [509]

(viii) If a copy of the Granth Sahib is kept in a house it must be regularly read, whether by the owner of the house or by someone appointed for the purpose. [492]

(ix) A woman should not read the Granth Sahib in any Sikh assembly. [538]

c) Complete readings

(i) When a Gursikh concludes a reading of the Granth Sahib he should read the scribe's ink formula, repeat Japjī, and end the entire reading with its terminal shalok. [141]

(ii) The complete Granth Sahib should be read following the death of a Sikh. This should be spread over as many days as his family can afford to provide hospitality to mourners. ¹³⁶ [45]

6. Rituals

a) Post-natal

(i) The newborn son of a Gursikh should not be publicly displayed until he has been given an initiatory drink of water which has been sweetened with raw sugar and touched by the feet of five Sikhs. [60]

(ii) If the child is to be brought up a Kes-dhari his hair should be left uncut from birth. He should be given a name from the Granth Sahib and after the ceremony he should be bathed in curds. [61]

b) Marriage

(i) Marriage should be in accordance with caste and lineage prescriptions. [11]

(ii) A marriage should be performed at the house of the bride's father. The groom should be escorted there by a marriage party. [503]

(iii) A Gursikh should not demand a bride-price. [13-14]

(iv) A Gursikh's son may be married to the daughter of a monā father if she receives foot-wash initiation (charanān kī pāhul). [15]

(v) A Gursikh should not marry his daughter to a monā unless he agrees to accept initiation. This is performed with sweetened water which has been used to wash a Granth Sahib lectern (manījī). Five stanzas of Japjī and five of Anand should be recited. The couple should then drink the water. If the bridegroom has previously worn a sacred thread he may continue to do so during the wedding ceremony, but he should subsequently remove it. [16, 21]

#) Infiliation (kes baptism)¹³⁷

(i) A Gursikh should receive baptism (pāhul) before his hair has grown to its full length. It is a father's duty to have his son initiated. [88, 375]

(II) The rite of kes baptism should be conducted as follows:

1. The rite should be conducted by five Sikhs. [182]

2. Water should be put in a bowl (katorā), sweetened with sugar confectionery (patāśā), and stirred with a knife (karad). While it is being stirred the Five Ouatrains (pañi savayye) should be recited. [178-79]

3. A handful of the sanctified water (amrit) should be given five times to the neophyte to drink; five times it should be sprinkled on his eyes; and five times

on his head. [90, 180]

4. The initiated Sikh should then declare: 'Vāhigurūjī kā Khālsā! Vāhigurūjī kī fateh! [Hail to the Guru's Khalsa! Hail the victory of the Guru!].' [90, 181]

5. The officiating Gursikhs should instruct the initiate in observance of the Rahit, repeating the Sat-nām mantra, and the obligation to bear arms. [90,182]

6. The initiate should be given the name 'Singh'.[182]

7. Karah prasad should be distributed. [182]

(III) I'le who accepts baptism is required to keep his kes uncut. [183]

Any Sikh who administers baptism must be devout, wise, and scrupulous in his observance of the Rahit. He should not be one-eyed, bald, lame, or a leper, nor should he be a beardless person. [91, 122]

v) Sword baptism (khande kī pāhul) should not be administered to a woman. [506]

r) Funerals

Appropriate rites should be performed following the death of a Gursikh. The head of the deceased should not be shaved, not even that of a Sahaj-dhari. Kirtan should be sung and charitable offerings distributed as custom dictates. There should be no public lamentation. [45]

(i) Karah prasad should be distributed at the place of cremation after the corpse has been

washed. [45]

Katha and kirtan should continue for as many days as the family of the deceased can afford. A complete reading of the Granth Sahib should be spread over this period. [45]

The family of the deceased should invite as many mourners as they can afford to feed.

The mourners should be Sikhs. [45]

The ashes of the deceased should be deposited in the Ganga. [45]

(vi) A Gursikh should hold a śrādh ceremony on the anniversary of his father's death. [46]

1) Kuruh prasad

(i) Before karah prasad is prepared the cooking-square must be freshly smeared and clean clothes put on. *Anand* should be recited before commencing the preparation. [305, 430, 431]

(II) The preparation of karah prasad should not be entrusted to anyone who cuts his hair or smokes a hookah, nor to any other transgressor of the Rahit. [432]

(III) Karah prasad should not be weighed after it has been prepared. [433]

v) Ardas should be recited before karah prasad is distributed. [376]

(v) Karah prasad should be distributed to all without favouritism or discrimination. No Gursikh should reserve a larger portion for himself. Recipients should wait patiently until they receive their share. [288, 290, 294, 296, 377]

vi) A Gursikh must never put aside for his own consumption a portion of karah prasad before serving others. [440]

1 The preparation and consumption of food

ii) The preparation of food

The Sikh who can afford a cook should employ only a Sikh. He should never employ anyone who smokes, wears a cap (topi), cuts his hair, steals, fornicates, gambles, or otherwise flouts the Rahit. [84]

Shoes must never be worn in a kitchen. [298]

Hands must be washed before dough is kneaded. Finger-nails should not be permitted to grow long. There should be no talking while a meal is being prepared. [105]

Burn wood when cooking, not dung. If insufficient wood is available burn equal parts of wood and dung. [86]

b) Eating and drinking

A Gursikh must wash his hands and rinse his mouth before eating. 139 Before he begins to eat he should say 'Sat-nam Vahiguru'. [8]

Before eating a meal a Gursikh should put aside a portion as an offering to the Guru.

A Gursikh should not begin to eat before a guest has begun to so do. [301] (iii) (iv)

Sikhs should sit in a single line when eating together. [10]

A Gursikh should remove his shoes before eating but not his turban. [299, 542]

A Gursikh should not talk while eating, nor should he stand up if anyone arrives

Do not eat carelessly, spitting out particles of food, when others are present. [399] A Gursikh should eat no more than he requires in order to satisfy his hunger. [119] Gursikhs are strictly forbidden to eat meat from animals killed according to Muslim

If possible a Gursikh should avoid drinking water from a leather bag. He should never drink water served by a Muslim. [120]

A cup received from someone with cut hair must be washed before it is used. [410] (xii) A Gursikh should not give others food which he has already tasted. [52]

(xiii) A Gursikh should never eat food left by a woman. [342]

8. Weapons and warfare

a) The obligation to bear and reverence arms

A Gursikh should carry weapons, both large and small. He should always have at least one weapon on his person. [188, 250, 332]

(ii) A Gursikh should reverence and worship his sword (sirī sāhib). Worship is due first to the Guru and secondly to the sword. [41, 146, 196, 322]

A Gursikh should never keep his sword on his person while defecating. Place it some distance away to ensure that it is not defiled or entrust it to the care of another Singh,

(iv) The right to rule is won and sustained by the sword. Arms should only be used, however, when there is good cause for so doing. [146, 279]

b) The fighting Singh's equipment

A Singh should regularly practise the use of his weapons to ensure that he maintains and improves his skill. [194]

A Singh should wear a kachh made from strong cloth, not a flimsy article which will fail to serve its purpose. [193]

(iii) A weapon should never be left uncleaned. [189, 197]

c) The need for vigilance

(i) A Singh must remain ever on the alert, even when sitting and thinking or when defecating. He will always be ready to spring into action with his sword. [189, 198,

(ii) A Gursikh should never sleep unprepared. He should wear clothing and a

A sword must not be carried behind the back, nor slung over the shoulder with the hilt behind the shoulder. [328, 329]

(iv) A Singh should don his kachh as soon as he has bathed, regardless of whether it be

d) The battlefield

A Singh should never turn his back in battle. [190]

Always aid a wounded, disabled or exhausted Sikh on the battlefield. [418]

Always have slain Sikhs cremated on the battlefield if possible. [420]

9. Salutations

A Gursikh should never fail to respond when greeted by the salutation 'Vāhigurūjī kī fateh [Hail the victory of the Guru]'. [363]

Each morning a Gursikh should greet the sun with a namaste and his fellow Sikhs

with the salutation 'Vāhigurūjī kī fateh'. [150, 516]

When the new moon appears a Gursikh should salute it with a namaste and his fellow Sikhs with 'Vāhigurūjī' kī fateh'. [151]

10. Women's duties

n) Personal behaviour

A Gursikhni should sustain a dutiful and placid disposition as a wife. She should regard her husband as her lord. She should serve him better food than other members of the family and should instruct him in the principles of the Sikh faith. [556-58, 567]

A Gursikhni should never abuse or berate a man, nor should she fight with a man.

A Gursikhni should spurn ridicule, mockery, vulgar jokes, and obscene language. She should not sing coarse songs at weddings nor at any other time. The songs which she sings should always be chaste and wholesome. [554, 565]

A Gursikhni should not bathe naked, nor should she stand naked in water and cast it towards the sun. [550]

h) Cooking and serving food A Gursikhni must cleanse herself before preparing or serving food. This she should do with water and fresh earth. [551, 562]

To avoid pollution a Gursikhni should observe the following rules while preparing

1. She should not speak,

2. If she clears her nose or scratches her body she should wash her hands before

3. She should keep small children out of her cooking area. [562-63] () Prayer and devotion

Before reciting the Guru's mantra 140 a Gursikhni should bathe or at least perform the five ablutions. [566]

A Gursikhni should visit the dharamsala twice daily. [559]

A Gursikhni should keep her head covered in a satsang. [553] A Gursikhni should not read the Granth Sahib in a Sikh assembly. [538]

A Gursikhni should learn portions of the sacred scripture by heart. [559] A Gursikhni should spin cotton and with it weave cloth to be used as a wrapping (rumāl) for the Granth Sahib or as a covering for the dharamsala floor. [560]

A Gursikhni should not offer prayers at tombs and cenotaphs. [566]

Sword baptism is not to be administered to women. [506]

d) Social relationships

A Gursikhni should not keep the company of men other than those of her own family.

A Gursikhni should avoid social contacts with members of the five proscribed groups

A Gursikhni should not sit with malicious women exchanging gossip with them.

11 Travel and pilgrimage

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When on pilgrimage a Gursikh should not accept support from offerings made by (li) others if this can be avoided. He should himself make offerings in order that others may be fed. [111]

Before commencing any journey a Gursikh should offer Ardas to the Guru and ask (iii) for his protection. When he returns he should proceed to the dharamsala as soon as possible and make his thanksgiving. [108, 109]

Any Gursikh traveller in need should receive assistance from local Sikhs regardless of (iv)

his capacity to pay. [135, 537]

Never misdirect a Sikh who asks the way. [419, 513] (v)

12. False teachers and enemies of the Guru

A Gursikh should have no dealings with the five reprobate groups (pañi mel), viz.:

1. Minas (the followers of Prithi Chand and Miharban):

- 2. the followers of Ram Rai:
- 3. the followers of Dhir Mal:

4. the masands;

5. any who acknowledge the authority of the masands [6, 186-88, 547].

A Gursikh should not associate with any of the following, nor should he accept their teachings:

1. Muslims;

- 2. yogis:
- 3. those who do not wear turbans:
- 4. those who shave their heads:
- 5, mendicants who mat their hair.
- 6. naked sadhus who coat themselves with ashes:

7. ascetics who wear caps (topi);

8. those who arrogantly assume spiritual authority. [31, 121]

A Gursikh should have nothing to do with those who kill female babies, [12]

A Gursikh should never patronise nor protect apostates, delinquents, impostors, cheats, thieves, adulterers, or gamblers, [83, 546]

13. Attitude towards Muslims

Never associate with a Muslim nor trust his word. Never drink water from a Muslim's hands, never eat his food, and never sleep in his company. Do not be influenced by anything which a Muslim may say, [10, 31, 120, 442]

Never touch a Muslim woman. [10]

A Gursikh should never eat meat from animals killed according to Muslim rites.

Do not distribute or eat karah prasad in the company of Muslims. [436] (iv)

Never eat sweets or any other food offered as an oblation by a Muslim official. [541] (v)

(vi) Religious discourse should not be held with Muslims, [121]

- A Gursikh should never entrust the management of his household affairs to a Muslim,
- A Gursikh should never entrust his sword to a Muslim and then walk ahead unarmed. (viii)

(ix) Never invite a Muslim to recite the Kalima. [472]

(x) Never attend the mourning ceremony for a deceased Muslim. [407]

A Gursikh should never place on his kes anything inscribed in Arabic, [386]

Gursikhs who are employed in a Muslim administration may be forgiven any unavoidable transgressions which may result from their employment. Three offences, however, can never be pardoned:

1. The killing of a daughter

2. Cutting one's hair or beard

3. Smoking [80, 444-445]

(xiii) Never touch the feet of a Mughal, nor eat food which he leaves. [384-85]

14. Sundry prohibitions

A Gursikh should never commit theft or adultery, nor should be gamble, [102]

A Gursikh must never kill a female baby. He must have no dealings with anyone who

has committed this unpardonable offence. [12, 80, 359, 547]

A Gursikh should not wear either a sacred thread or a frontal mark. [20]

A Gursikh must never offer prayers at any tomb, cenotaph, or sacred pool, nor at a shrine dedicated to Gugga Pir. [137, 387, 406]

A Gursikh should enter neither a Hindu temple nor a Muslim mosque. He should not accept the authority of a mullah or a qazi. [137]

A Gursikh should never tread on any paper inscribed with Gurmukhi nor use such paper as a wrapping. He should show respect for the letters of the Gurmukhi alphabet. [147]

A Gursikh should never smoke tobacco (bikhiā) and should not sit beside anyone who does smoke it. [7a, 80, 438]

A Gursikh should not drink intoxicating liquor (sarāb). [7]

A Gursikh should not sing worldly songs, nor should he dance. At weddings he should not listen to lewd songs nor watch vulgar dancing. [127, 128, 345, 405]

A Gursikh should not rub gum-tragacanth or henna on his hands, nor apply black collyrium to his eyes. [382, 490]

14 Miscellaneous injunctions

Take care never to drop a knife (karad) when it is being passed from one person to another, [324]

A tree should not be cut down while it is still able to bear fruit. [491]

A lamp should be extinguished by waving a fan or piece of cloth. It should not be blown out by human breath nor snuffed with the hand. [505]

Do not extinguish a fire with water left over after drinking. [543] (IV)

Never speak of 'drying' a slate [after washing Gurmukhi characters from it]. [511]

Do not throw a stone at a dog without good reason. [523]

the Rahit content of the Nand Lal section

The portion of the extant text attributed to Nand Lal covers less than eight folios in the SRL minimiscript (less than fourteen in GNDU) and its statement of the Rahit is therefore brief and fourmentary. As in the Chaupā Singh section the various injunctions are recorded at random with fulle concern for order or coherence. Its injunctions may be summarised as follows:

THE RAHIT (NAND LĀL TEXT)

A Gursikh should spurn the teachings of Brahmans, Muslims, and Mahants. 141 He should believe and obey none save the Guru, loyally adhering to the Guru's Khalsa and worshipping only in the presence of the Guru's Word.

A Gursikh should scorn Brahmanical observances. He should never wear the sacred thread, recite Gayatri, worship idols, wear a dhoti, or eat with head uncovered; and he

should never solicit the services of a Brahman.

A Gursikh should never offer prayer at tombs or cremation grounds.

A Gursikh should read, hear, and repeat the divine Name, for thus is liberation attained.

The daily discipline:

a) During the last watch of the night a Sikh should arise and bathe. After cleaning his teeth he should either read both Japji and Jap or recite two stanzas of each from memory. At daybreak he should join a satsang and after hearing the divine Word he should proceed on his daily business.

b) At midday, having washed his feet and hands, he should again recite both Japji

c) An hour before the close of day he should recite the Sodar Rahiras liturgy.

A Sikh must be distinguished by a turban, a fine flowing beard, and an uncut kes. He must never use a razor and he must never remove his beard.

A Gursikh must never smoke tobacco nor use it as snuff. Using tobacco is as heinous

a sin as eating beef.

Sikhs should regularly gather together, read the Anand, recite Ardas, and eat together, Giving food to a fellow Sikh is as meritorious as giving it to the Guru himself. Fellow

Sikhs should be served regardless of their status.

10. In times of need summon five Sikhs and feed them. The five Sikhs will then say Ardas and the suppliant's wish will be granted. 11.

For a śrādh ceremony prepare the tastiest of food and summon fellow members of the

Khalsa. Read the Anand, recite Ardas, and feed the assembled Sikhs.

12. Do not steal.

13. Do not be mean.

14. Do not slander.

15. Never trust a woman.

The narrative portions of the Chaupa Singh text

Having concluded his catalogue of injunctions the Chaupa Singh compiler rounds off his first rahit-nama section and plunges into a narrative account of the mission of Guru Gobind Single, This, as we have already suggested, is not as incongruous as first appearances might suggest, Sikh tradition is emphatic in its insistence that the Rahit derives directly from the intention of Guru Gobind Singh and that it was promulgated by the Guru in response to a specific need, The compiler turns now to this need and to the critically important response which it elicited from the Guru. 142

His narrative begins with the birth of the tenth Guru and after briefly describing his childhood dwells at some length on the circumstances of his father's death. The compiler accepts, in general terms, the dominant tradition concerning the mission of Guru Gobind Singh, and the stress which he lays upon the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur is a key feature of that tradition. When the ninth Guru was executed all but two of his disciples cravenly concealed their identity as Sikhs. The son and successor, learning of this cowardice, decided that he would one day confer on his followers a visible identity which would render concealment impossible.

The remainder of the first narrative section leads on to the fulfilment of this intention. The Guru had decided that uncut hair would be the key feature of the externally-visible identity which his followers must be required to assume. He therefore introduced the rite of kes baptism in S. 1754 (1697 A.C.). All who accepted initiation as members of the newly-constituted Panth thereby became Kes-dhari Sikhs, each pledged to retain his kes

inviolate and to observe all other requirements of the Guru's Rahit.

Many of the dates and details given in the Chaupā Singh account differ from those normally accepted, but the interpretation itself is orthodox. The compiler clearly agrees with those who focus their interpretation on the circumstances of the ninth Guru's death and the consequent need for a visible identity. The role of the masands (the alternative focus) is mentioned. 143 but it remains peripheral to the accepted interpretation. If one were to judge from the Chaupa Singh Rahit-nāmā alone it would be difficult to deduce that the new order might have been instituted in order to detach Sikhs from the allegiance to the masands. The masands are certainly portrayed as grossly arrogant and corrupt, and the Rahit itself commands Sikhs to avoid them. 144 There is, however, no suggestion that their misused authority had anything to do with the Guru's decision to refashion the Panth.

One feature of the Khalsa theme which was to encounter disapproval from some later copyists of the text is the account of Guru Gobind Singh's alleged decision to invoke the blessing of Mata Devi by commissioning a performance of the traditional fire ritual (hom). As we have already noted, however, this story was obviously a part of the original narrative, 145 It relates how Guru Gobind Singh decided to seek the blessing of the goddess on his new Panth and for this purpose employed a group of Brahmans led by a certain Kalak Das. The tensions generated by the inclusion of the story in this and other eighteenth-century Sikh works are clearly present within the actual narrative. Although the Guru is said to have initiated the proposal he refuses to follow Kalak Das's instructions and the ritual ends in failure.

The mission of Guru Gobind Singh and the reconstituting of the Panth provide the dominant

theme of the first narrative section. A strong secondary theme is the loyalty of the Chhibbar hrahmans and their importance within the Guru's retinue. 146 This receives particular mominence at two points. When Guru Tegh Bahadur goes to his death the two Sikhs who semain bravely loyal are both Chhibbars; 147 and when the rite of kes baptism is inaugurated the first Sikh to receive it is Chaupa Singh Chhibbar himself. 148

The Chhibbar sub-theme continues into the second narrative portion (sections 569-641), but the dominant theme now changes. The tenor of the resumed narrative is very different from that of the earlier section. Whereas the earlier section offered a description of times past the later continuation purports to be the tenth Guru's foretelling of the future. This it provides in the form of brief anecdotes as well as specific prophecies, all of them expressions of the new theme so insistently emphasised by the Chhibbar compiler. The theme of this second narrative section is raulā (tumult) and the Guru is represented as predicting its onset. The raulā which In (i) assail the Panth will grow steadily worse, fuelled by the hostility of the Muslim rulers and by the perverse ambition of disloyal Sikhs. A loyal remnant of the Khalsa will stand firm, hiswever, and eventually a golden age of peace will be inaugurated by the appearance of Milinkulank, the Kalki Avatar. The narrative thus presents an apocalypse, a sequence of brief Imms which together proclaim the imminence of dire calamity and the ultimate triumph of the new Panth.

Although these prophecies are attributed to Guru Gobind Singh their content and message rungern the contemporary circumstances of the Panth at the time when the extant Chaupā NIMyh text was originally recorded. They must therefore be read as a commentary on the puriod half a century after the Guru's death. In presenting this message the compiler is plainly drawing from the same tradition that Kesar Singh Chhibbar used for his Bansāvalī-nāmā. The impropertive for both, as for their shared tradition, is a view bitterly hostile to the Khalsa legalership of the period circa 1760, a leadership which this Chhibbar tradition represents as viulous and self-seeking. There remains, however, a tradition of loyalty within the Panth and une individual is given particular notice as a shining example of devotion to the Guru. He is, predictably, a Chhibbar. 149

The compiler thus presents his readers with a particular interpretation of the key events in the l'anth's past, together with a gloomy view of its immediate future. Four features of his

minlysis deserve to be noted.

1. The emphasis laid on the devoted service of the Chhibbar Brahmans.

An we have already noted, the narrative portions of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā can, in a while, be regarded as a Chhibbar charter. The repeated emphasis laid on the Chhibbar montribution to the Panth constitutes a particularly prominent feature of the compiler's choice and presentation of his narrative content.

7. The Bansāvalī-nāmā analogue.

This issue has also been discussed above, 150 but it deserves further examination in this nuntext. It warrants further attention because some key terms used in the Chaupā Singh text

are clarified by definitions supplied in the Bansāvalī-nāmā.

()ne such term is raulā, the word which for the Chaupā Singh compiler epitomises the fate of the Panth during the early and middle years of the eighteenth century. Although the Chaupā NINgh text communicates a lively sense of growing turbulence it offers no specific information concerning the actual raula, nor of the individuals who create it. Kesar Singh, by contrast, is applicately specific. His interpretations may be fanciful, but at least he makes his meaning clear. The interpretation of contemporary events which he thus expounds was obviously a fundamental assumption of the Chhibbar tradition, and the Chaupa Singh compiler merely takes for granted an analysis which was commonplace in his own circles.

According to Kesar Singh the raula which assails the Panth is the latest in the sequence of pluses which together constitute the Panth's history. Each is characterised by a key word. The llist phase, inaugurated by Guru Nanak and continuing into the lifetime of the tenth Guru, was the period of sikht. In S. 1754 (1697 A.C.) Guru Gobind Singh first performed the rite of kes implism and with it introduced singhi. These two co-existed satisfactorily through the twelve remaining years of his lifetime and thereafter for another thirty-six years during the period of

Banda and Jit Singh. In S.1803 (1746 A.C.), however, Nawab Kapur Singh died and with his death first sikhī and then singhī were abandoned. The sardars who succeeded Kapur Singh were traitors to the Panth, self-seeking knaves who consulted only their own interests. In so doing they carried the Panth into the period of raulā. 151

The Chaupā Singh text speaks of the same raulā and when it denounces the raule de sikh its curses are aimed at the Khalsa leadership of its own period. This term, which appears in the English translation as 'vicious unruly Sikhs', presents no problems once raulā is understood. 152 Elsewhere the text refers to these same reprobates as māikī sikh, members of the sinister māikī panth or 'Way of Avarice'. The māikī sikh constitute one of the four categories into which the Chhibbar tradition divides the Khalsa Panth. The four categories are respectively the dīdārī sikh (Attendant Sikhs), the mukate sikh (Enlightened Sikhs), the māikī sikh (Rapacious Sikhs) and the murīd sikh (Loyal Sikhs).

This fourfold division is clearly a feature of the Chhibbar view of contemporary developments within the Panth. In themselves the terms communicate little sense of the meaning which each is intended to express and both Chhibbar works offer definitions, set in the context of Guru Gobind Singh's preparations for the Devi fire ritual. In the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā they appear as sections 224-227. The Bansāvalī-nāmā offers a fuller and clearer series of definitions. According to Kesar Singh the Guru described the four categories as follows:

The Guru explained: The $d\bar{t}d\bar{a}r\bar{t}$ [Sikhs] are those who remain with me here permanently. They remain with me both here and in the hereafter, devoutly repeating the Word of salvation, 140

The mukate Sikhs are those who shall remain after I have gone.

The Turks will issue ordinances against the Panth and pursue [its members in their attempt to destroy it].

They who [in these times of persecution] uphold their Sikh allegiance shall be known as mukate, Striving always to sustain their faith as Sikhs. 141

By the suffering of these two groups [the Panth] shall win political power, but in the exercise of this power some will turn to sin and damnation.

These leaders, [ensnared by wordly temptations], shall be the māikī Sikhs, and as such shall be accounted the third division of the Panth. 142 ...

Thus we have noted the dīdārī, the mukate, and thirdly the māikī Sikhs. Behold fourthly the murīd, they who remain pure during the [corrupting] rule of the māikī 144

For them everything is seen as the Guru's gift,

As [true] Sikhs amongst [the false] they continue to accept the sacred scripture as the Guru's voice. Authority, destiny, country, and wordly wealth -

All these they accept as gifts of the Guru and share what they possess with their fellow Sikhs, 145

Recognise the *murīd* as the Satguru's [true] disciples, they who exalt the Sikh faith above their personal pride when authority is conferred on them.

A $m\bar{a}ik\bar{a}$ when he secures authority is called a $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$, whereas the [humble and] incorrupt is to be known as a $mur\bar{a}d.146$

The $d\bar{t}d\bar{s}\bar{r}\bar{r}$, mukate, and $mur\bar{t}d$ Sikhs are mine, whereas the $m\bar{a}ik\bar{t}$ must wait at the [dread] door of Dharam-rai ...'153

The interpretation of the Panth expressed in Kesar Singh's awkward verse is central to the Chaupā Singh narrative. In the Panth of the mid-eighteenth century loyalty to the Guru's teachings is scorned, corruption and arrogant self-seeking are exalted. Although the fourfold division is clumsy and imprecise it clearly represents a crucial element within the Chhibbar tradition, an instrument whereby the presence in the Panth of discord and selfish ambition can be explained without abandoning the fundamental doctrine of the Guru's omnipotence. The

times are confused because the Guru has willed that this should be so. They will grow progressively worse until total chaos eventually ushers in a new era. For its ultimate answer lin Chhibbar tradition looks to the Dasam Granth and beyond it to the Puranic solution. Peace mild order will eventually return with the arrival of the Kalki Avatar. 154

I, The influence of the Dasam Granth

In their apocalyptic treatment of the Panth's future the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā and the Humsāvalī-nāmā both indicate a significant debt to Puranic sources. Although Puranic elements incolve considerable prominence this should not suggest that the Chhibbar tradition acquired them directly from the Puranas. The immediate source and influence is clearly the Dasam Uranth. The presence within the Dasam Granth of a section concerning the Kalki Avatar is morely one indication of the extent to which its contents have been influenced and informed by the Puranas. The same section also indicates the obvious line of descent from Puranic source to Chhibbar tradition. Other references within the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā further testify to the Influence exercised on its narrative content by the Dasam Granth.

A. Doctrinal concerns

The dominant doctrinal concern of the Chaupā Singh text as a whole is the nature of the Rahit and the obligation incumbent on all Sikhs to observe it faithfully. There is, however, a deeper the underlying the existence of the Rahit, one which runs through the narrative sections of the text as well as the actual rahit-nama. Why must one observe the Rahit? One must observe the Rahit because the Guru has decreed it. Submission to the Guru is the only means of liberation for the Sikh and if the Guru ordains the Rahit his loyal disciple has no choice but to other.

An exalted doctrine of the Guru is another of the text's continuities and a fundamental aspect of its message. The exalted nature of the doctrine is mirrored in the terminology which the text uses when speaking of the Guru and in the range of meaning covered by its preferred titles. Two points deserve to be noted in this respect.

The first is that although we encounter degrees of honorific usage the various terms which we must be mark different points on the honorific scale are in fact all synonymous. The text may refer simply to the Gurū or it may elect to use the more exalted titles of Satigurū, Vāhigurū, or Furān Purakh. In some instances combinations may be used, producing such impressive torms as Hazūr Srī Vāhigurū Pūran Purakh jī. 155 All bear the same range of meaning.

The range of meaning is thus one which must be determined by context rather than by terminology. This brings us to the second point which deserves notice. The range covered by such of the terms noted above is one which extends from the personal Guru (normally Guru Hobind Singh) through the concept of an eternal Guru to identification with Akal Purakh himself. Up to a certain point this range of common identity is explicitly affirmed. There is but one eternal Guru and the succession which runs from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh comprises ten incarnations (jāme) of this single Guru, not ten separate Gurus. This much is olonrly stated. The remainder is logically implicit. If one concedes the existence of the oternal Guru it necessarily follows that the Gurus must be in some sense an extension of Akal Purakh. Distinguishing the two can be as difficult as separating Holy Spirit from Godhead in the Christian tradition.

This strong inclination to fuse personal incarnation, eternal Guru, and supreme Creator is interestingly reflected in the shifts of meaning which have affected the term $v\bar{a}hgur\bar{u}$ (or $v\bar{a}hgur\bar{u}$). In this particular case four phases can be recognised and although two of these are dominant in the $Chaup\bar{a}$ Singh Rahit- $n\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ all four can be identified in its varying usage.

In its Adi Granth sense vah guru is simply an ascription of praise to the Guru.

vāhi gurū vāhi gurū vāhi gurū vāhi jiu

Praise to the Guru! Praise to the Guru! Praise to the Guru!

Praise to Thee! 157

Although rare in the Adi Granth it was later used by janam-sakhi compilers in a variety of ways, all of them retaining the same literal meaning of 'Praise to the Guru'. In some instances they followed the Adi Granth example of using it simply as an ascription of praise, frequently at the conclusion of individual sakhis. Elsewhere it was employed as a magical formula to

ward off danger or effect a miracle. A third janam-sakhi usage was as an appropriate mantra

for the simple unsophisticated application of the nam simaran technique. 158

This constituted the initial phase, one in which the two components $(v\bar{a}h)$ and $gur\bar{u}$) remained distinct and the term itself retained its literal meaning. The initial phase also produced the celebrated Khalsa salutation: vāh gurū jī kā khālsā, vāh gurū jī kī fateh. This may be exceedingly difficult to comprehend or accept today, for the salutation has long been used with a later sense in mind. As the meaning of $v\bar{a}h$ gur \bar{u} changed (a change marked by the coalescing of the two words to form $v\bar{a}higur\bar{u}$) the precise sense of the salutation shifted with it. The coalesced form is now so firmly entrenched that reading it in any other sense can be virtually impossible for many people. ¹⁵⁹ The first phase is represented in the *Chaupā Singh* text by an example of the janam-sakhi mantra usage. ¹⁶⁰ The dominant *Chaupā Singh* usage, however, belongs to the second phase and marks the principal shift in the meaning of the term, There can be no doubt that for the Chaupā Singh compiler 'Vahiguru' carries exactly the same meaning as 'Guru'. When he refers to Hazur Sri Vahiguru Puran Purakhji it is Guru Gobind Singh whom he means. Other examples repeatedly make the same identity of meaning clear, 161

In this second phase the two components have coalesced to produce a one-word title and that title is applied to the personal Guru. The third phase follows as a natural result of the developing doctrine of the Guru. As the doctrine of the eternal Guru ascends to importance the synonymous title of Vahiguru follows it. Vahiguru thus designates the eternal Guru as well as the personal manifestation.

The fourth phase also follows as a natural development. Just as the transition from eternal Guru to supreme Creator is an easy one, so too is the corresponding shift in the meaning of Vahiguru. The fact that it was already under way during the mid-eighteenth century is indicated by an isolated example in the SRL manuscript. Dalla Brar, addressing Guru Gobind Singh, refers to Vaniguru in a sense which clearly implies distinction from the Guru himself and thus can mean only Akal Purakh. 162 In the Chaupā Singh context this is an inconsistent usage, but it is scarcely surprising. It points the way forward to the modern sense, one which emphatically identifies Vahiguru with Akal Purakh, Parbraham and Kartar,

The anecdotal sequence

The twelve anecdotes which follow the first narrative section in the GNDU/SRL text have a common theme and a single message. The theme is that of the nindak or 'detractor', 163 and the message which the anecdotes so insistently communicate is that opposition to the Gurus is bound to be futile. In two instances the 'detractor' is a rival who seeks to appropriate the Guru's authority. Others are malicious vilifiers with a variety of imagined grievances. All fail in their nefarious designs. 164

An interesting feature of these anecdotes is the prominence of Khatris. Eight of the twelve involve treacherous Khatris, six of them explicitly. Khatri involvement is in part explained by the fact that rival relatives such as Miharban would necessarily be Khatris. There is, however, no mistaking the copyist's intention to stress that hostility came predominantly from Khatris, from the unrelated as well as from disaffected family members. Only in the story involving Guru Angad do they seem to emerge with uncertain credit. Within the Chhibbar family, it seems, the nindak was perceived as pre-eminently a Khatri. The feature is one which the anecdotal sequence shares with the narrative sections of the original text. 165 Antipathy towards Khatris was evidently current amongst at least some of the Chhibbars of the mid-eighteenth century.

The nature of the nindak strategy is indicated by the copyist's fondness for the word marka (fuss, trouble). Four of the first five stories are introduced by a reference to the $m\bar{a}rk\bar{a}$ caused by the Gurus' malevolent opponents, and subsequent anecdotes tell a similar tale. None can succeed. Even in defeat, or in death itself, the Guru triumphs.

Conclusion

The Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama is an important document. It is important because together with In associated Nand Lal fragment it represents the earliest extant example of a formal Inhli-nama. It is also important because it enunciates the Rahit in such abundant detail,

As we have seen, the Chaupā Singh text can be traced to a family of Chhibbar Brahmans, illulinguished by their record of service to the Gurus, but sadly disillusioned by wighteenth-century developments within the Panth. The extant text was evidently compiled very near the middle of the century, and the original version was probably recorded in the nill)-montane area of Jammu or Jhelum. The result combines two sections of formal rahit-nama with two of narrative. One narrative portion looks back to the founding of the Khalsa and thus in the need for a Rahit. The other contemplates the confused circumstances of the mid-eighteenth century, circumstances produced by self-seeking disloyalty to the Guru and his itahit.

An origin such as this might suggest that the traditional neglect of the Chaupā Singh Huhlt-nama has been thoroughly justified. Can one reasonably expect that disillusioned Brahmans will provide an impartial statement of the orthodox Rahit? The fear is natural, yet there is little to indicate that the statement is in fact significantly biased. On the contrary, any link of bias is more than counterbalanced by the substantial advantage of knowing the precise origins of this particular statement. There is, after all, no such thing as an agreed plulteenth-century orthodoxy. The most we can anticipate is a dominant trend, and insofar as Ills can be identified there is nothing to suggest significant deviation on the part of the Chaupā Whigh Rahit-nāmā. The only exception to this rule is its attitude towards Brahmans. This funture, easily perceived, exercises no evident influence on the remainder of its presentation.

Parly expositions of the Rahit which declare their date, place of origin, and potential bias, are Immensely valuable. In the case of the Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama all three issues can be determined with reasonable certainty, enabling us to place the text at the beginning of a major elevelopment in Sikh tradition. It is a work which deserves recognition and thorough analysis.

The editing and translating of the Chaupa Singh/Nand Lal text

Like all Gurmukhi works of its period the text recorded in the SRL and GNDU manuscripts was written without breaks between individual words. Apart from line-endings (which take no account of word-endings) the only regular breaks in the text are those which mark the conclusion of sentences, major phrases, or items in lists. In the process of editing and transcribing the text these unbroken sequences have been divided into their separate words. The basic text for the version which follows is that recorded in the GNDU manuscript. Important variants from the SRL, PSP and KhC manuscripts are given in footnotes.

Scriptural quotations are identified in both the Gurmukhi text and the English translation. Where the GNDU/SRL version differs significantly from the Adi Granth or the Dasam Granth reading the latter is given in the footnote attached to the Gurmukhi text. Minor variants are Ignored. It should, however, be noted that minor variants are very common. Although the UNDU and SRL manuscripts have proved generally faithful to their scriptural sources they weldom produce exact transcripts of the original.

The English translation follows the Gurmukhi text as closely as possible. Words which have been inserted to provide clarity or continuity have been set in brackets.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

1140 (Eng) W. H. McLeod (trans.), The B40 Janam-sākhī. Amritsar, 1980.

B-nKesar Singh Chhibbar, Bansāvalī-nāmā.

ChS Text of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. Numbers following the abbreviation

ChS designate sections of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā text.

ESC W. H. McLeod, The Evolution of the Sikh Community. Delhi, 1975; Oxford,

(INDU Guru Nanak Dev University Library manuscript no. 1018.

GNSR W. H. McLeod, Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion. Oxford, 1968. KhC

Sikh History Research Department of Khalsa College, Amritsar, manuscrip no. SHR 227.

ΜK

Kahn Singh Nabha, Guruśabad Ratañakar Mahān Koś (commonly known n Mahān Kos), 2nd edition revised with Addendum, Patiala, 1960.

PSP. Piara Singh Padam (ed.), Rahit-name. Patiala, 1974. SRLSikh Reference Library, Amritsar, manuscript no. 6124.

W. H. McLeod, Textual Sources for the Study of Sikhism. Manchester, 1984, TSSS

1. TSSS, pp. 34-37.

2. TSSS, pp. 9-10 and chap. 4.

3. W.H. McLeod, 'The problem of the Panjabi rahit-nāmās', in S.N.Mukherjee, India: History and Thought. Essays in Honour of A.L.Basham (Calcutta, 1982), pp. 103-26.

4. S.S.Hans, 'Prem Sumarg - a modern forgery'. Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference 1982 (Patiala, 1982), pp.180-88.

5. An early translation of the Sau Sakhian was published by Attar Singh of Bhadaur as Sakhee Book, or the Description of Gooroo Gobind Singh's Religion and Doctrines (Benares, 1873).

6. W. H. McLeod, 'The Kukas: a millenarian sect of the Punjab' in G. A. Wood & P. S, O'Connor (ed), W. P. Morrell: a Tribute (Dunedin, 1973), pp.85-103, 272-76.

7. TSSS, pp 75-79.

8. TSSS, pp. 14-17. W. H. McLeod, 'The problem of the Panjabi rahit-nāmās', p. 119.

9. Titles are listed in N. Gerald Barrier, The Sikhs and their Literature (Delhi, 1970). 10. One such work was Sant Sampuran Singh's Rahit-prakās, first published in 1923. See also Piara Singh Padam, Rahit-name (Patiala, 1974).

11. TSSS, p. 79. TSSS, pp. 79-86, supplies a substantial part of the text of Sikh Rahit Maryādā in English translation.

12. MK, p. 359.

13. Idem, Guramat Sudhākar (Patiala, 4th ed. 1970), pp. 277-281; and Gurumat Mārtaṇḍ (Amritsar, 1962), vol. 1, suchi pattar 14.

14. The only significant exception is Piara Singh Padam's Rahit-nāme (Patiala, 1974), a published collection of rahit-nama texts which includes a complete version of one of the few Chaupa Singh manuscripts. Piara Singh Padam's published version is hereafter cited

15. An edition of the text, edited with introduction by Rattan Singh Jaggi, has been published as volume II of Parakh: Research Bulletin of Panjabi Language and Literature (Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1972), pp. xvi, 247.

16. For a note on the Bhatt vāhīs, together with relevant extracts, see Surjit Singh Gandhi, History of the Sikh Gurus (Delhi, 1978), pp. 583-91.

17. A note added by Kahn Singh in the second edition of MK identifies his actual residence as Duburji village in Sialkot District. MK Appx., p. 47.

18. See below p.16.

19. B-n 10:8. SRL, f. 35a. A khidavā is a nursery superintendent or adult playmate who may also assume tutoring responsibilities.

20. ChŚ 158. The Bansāvalī-nāmā names another Chhibbar Brahman, Harijas Rai, as Gurmukhi teacher to Gobind Singh. B-n 10: 6-7.

21. ChS 181. B-n 10: 322-23.

22. B-n 10: 523-26.

23. Piara Singh Padam, Srī Gurū Gobind Singh jī de darbārī ratan (Patiala, 1976), pp.75-77.

24. B-n 10:523-26.

25. *PSP*, pp. 69-70. 26. *GNDU*, f. 173b. *SRL*, f. 94b. *PSP*, p. 121.

27. Loc. cit., p. 286. Cited by Randhir Singh, Prem Sumarag Granth (Jalandhar, 1965), Introduction, pp. 78-79. Randhir Singh also quotes the reference to Chaupa Singh which appears in Tara Singh Narotam's Srī Gur Tīrath Sangrah published in 1884. Ibid., pp. **7**9-80.

Ibld., pp. 73-74.

J. S. Grewal and S. S. Bal, Guru Gobind Singh (Chandigarh, 1967), p.229.

10. PSP, Introduction, p. 40A.

Hee above p.13. Also PSP p.40A; and Piara Singh Padam, op.cit., p.76.

Randhir Singh, op. cit., p. 80. Grewal and Bal, op. cit., p. 229. Avtar Singh, Ethics of the Sikhs (Patiala, 1970), pp. 17-18.

14. ChS 157. PSP, p. 87.

14 ChS 286 PSP, p. 93. 14. ChS 569. PSP, p. 109.

16. ChS 647. GNDU f. 177a. SRL, f. 96b. PSP, p. 121.

11. (INDU, ff. 195a-208a, SRL, ff. 96b-104a, PSP, pp. 48-52. Piara Singh Padam does not actually state that the Nand Lal text published in his Rahit-name comprises a part of the same manuscript as his Chaupā Singh text. His Nand Lāl text does, however, correspond closely to those in the other manuscripts.

M. ChS 24. See also 120, 167, 622.

10. ChS 10.

I'he kes (uncut hair), kanghā (comb), kirpān (dagger or sword), karā (steel bangle) and kachh (breeches). ESC, p. 51.

11. ChS 206 ff.

1). ChS 615 ff.

The principal examples are the text's references to Mati Das, Sati Das, Daragah Mal, Sahib Chand, Dharam Chand, and Chaupa Singh himself.

11. PSP, p. 40A. 11. *PSP*, p. 40.

4ħ. This family tree is adapted from a version supplied by Piara Singh Padam in his Srī Gurū Gobind Singh jī de darbārī ratan, p. 266. Padam's sources appear to have been Kesar Singh's Bansavali-nama and the Bhatt Vahi Multani Sindhi as these are cited for Individual biographies elsewhere in the book. Narayan Das was a Kashmiri Brahman of the Datt got. Padam provides a separate family tree for his lineage, op. cit., p. 266. For a chart showing the descendants of Kesar Singh Chhibbar see Balwant Singh Dhillon, 'Some unknown hukumnamas of Guru Gobind Singh', Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference, thirteenth session 1979 (Patiala, 1980), p. 107.

47, ChS 158.

III. ChS 178-181. 19, ChS 586.

10. ChS 611 11. ChS 643.

1). The Bansāvalī-nāmā gives the older brother's name as Durgha Mal and Durga Mal. B-n 9:24, 32-34: 10:303. In the GNDU/SRL text the younger brother appears as Hira Nand. ChS 171. The Bhatt vāhīs agree with the PSP text in naming him Hira Mal. PSP, p. 89.

S. S. Gandhi, op. cit., pp. 588, 590 13. See in particular ChS 162, 170-74, 586.

14. ChS 641.

55. B-n 1:10; 14:626.

56. One manuscript gives the year as S.1836 (1779 A.C.). This, according to Rattan Singh

Jaggi, is a mistake. Op. cit., p. kh.

57. Ibid., pp. chh-j. The vāhī (which supplied him with many of his numerous dates) was, he claims, destroyed by fire in Jammu City. B-n 14:189-90. The Bala janam-sakhi tradition obviously commanded a considerable importance within the Chhibbar family. This is indicated by yet another Chhibbar product, a versified Bālā janam-sakhi said to have been prepared by Bhai Sant Das Chhibbar in S. 1834 (1777 A.C.). Illustrated manuscript copies of this work are held by Guru Nanak Dev University (manuscript no. 453) and the National Museum, New Delhi. For a description of the latter see Fauja Singh, Papers on Guru Nanak (Patiala, 1970), pp. 155-156. Several folios in praise of Mata Devi are appended to the actual janam-sakhi by both mss.

58. Ibid., pp. *g-chh*.

59. Idem, 'History in Panjabi', in The Panjab Past and Present V:1 (April, 1971), p. 188.

60. See below pp.45-47 and English translation note 473.

61. For a useful discussion of Kesar Singh's view see Surjit Singh Hans, 'Historical analysh of Sikh literature, A.D. 1500-1850' (unpub. Guru Nanak Dev University PhD. thesla, 1980), pp. 455-70.

62. See above p.15.

- 63. The two verse rahit-names attributed to Nand Lal and the verse rahit-names attributed to Prahlad Singh, Daya Singh and Desa Singh.
- 64. The manuscript was purchased by the Sikh Reference Library in 1960 from an antiquarian bookseller, Prithipal Singh Jaura, and was entered in the accessions register on 24 October 1960. (Information supplied by Principal Parkash Singh of Amritsar.)

65. *SRL*, f. 104a.

66. The precise year may perhaps be open to doubt as the last two digits are not clear. The whole of line 8, comprising the actual date sammat 1821 ikie is roughly written in a different pen and may well have been added later. It is, moreover, evident that the copyist originally wrote 1812, subsequently amended to read 1821. The hand appears, howeven to be that of the original copyist.

67. Notably the substitution of 'b' for 'v'.

68. A fascicle number appears in the bottom right-hand corner of every tenth folio.

69. Shamsher Singh Ashok believes that these corrections have been made by a different hand. Sāḍā hath-likhit pañjābī sāhit (Amritsar, 1968), p. 376. A few corrections have indeed been made by a modern hand. The majority are, however, early corrections and although the ink is much weaker than that of the original text the style is still that of the copyist.

70. The original sequence may have been briefer. The extant versions all include a supplementary colophon (sections 644-47) which was probably added to an earlier

version.

- 71. See above p.15.
 72. The misplaced sections (ChS 113-116) run from line 8 of folio 21b to line 1 of folio 23th See above pp.23-24. A sentence mistakenly repeated from an earlier context appears on folio 75a, line 7.
- 73. Folios 90 and 103.

74. GNDU, f. 208a.

75. The manuscript is catalogued as SHR 227A (the Chaupā Singh portion) and SHR 227ll (the Nand Lāl addendum).

76. The introductory and terminal extracts given in the published catalogue of the Sikh History Research Department's manuscripts are not a reliable guide in this respect. They contain several transcription errors. Kirpal Singh (ed.), A Catalogue of Punjabi and Urdin Manuscripts in the Sikh History Research Department (Amritsar, 1963), pp. 105-107.

77. An example is the corrupt reading pravāsīdī which occurs in section 146. SRL, f. 32b. KhC, f. 21a.

78. Published by the compiler, Patiala, 1974. The two texts are published separately in the collection. *PSP*, pp.48-52 (Nand Lāl Rahit-nāmā), 68-121 (Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā).

79. PSP, Introduction, p. 40D.

80. *PSP*, pp. 42-43, 44-47.

81. *PSP*, pp. 48-52. 82. *PSP*, p. 40D.

83. PSP, pp. 68-70. See below Appendix, pp.251-52.

84. *PSP*, p. 121.

85. PSP, p. 121. ChS 644-47.

86. See above p.24.87. See above p.18.

88. Whereas the first Rahit section enunciates positive injunctions the second details specific offences requiring punishment.

89. See above pp.12-13.

90. See below English translation, note 300.

91. Kahn Singh, Gurumat Martand, p. 541. MK, Appendix, p.55.

92. See ChS 24.

U.I. ChS 158, 179, 585, 589, 611. The formula is peculiar to the narrative sections. It does not appear in either of the rahit-nama sections.

94, B-n 10:27, Ch\$ 172,

08. Distinctive terms which appear in both works include kārakhānā as a metaphor referring to the Panth (ChS 168-169; B-n 10:625) and sāre as a feature of the masands' punishment (ChS 184; B-n 10:349).

Vo. ChS 224-27. B-n 10: 138-47.

47. ChS 623-35. B-n 10: 636-61.

UK, ChS 587-88, 596-97.

00. Rattan Singh Jaggi, Parakh II, pp. chh-j. (11). Jaggi cites several examples. Ibid., p.chh.

(0), ChS 611-14. PSP, pp. 118-19.

(02) See above p.16.

(1). See in particular ChS 583-86; PSP, pp. 112-13.

IIII. ChS 642-43. See also PSP, p. 121.

105. SRL, f. 96b, line 8.

100. GNDU, f. 206a. SRL, f. 103a.

107. hosī, karasī, jāsī, āvasī, lavāsī.

IIII. GNDU, ff. 195b, 196a, 199a, 201a, 203b-204a. SRL, ff.97a-b, 99a, 100a, 101b-102a.

109. GNDU, ff. 198a. SRL, f. 98a-b

110. ESC, p. 81.

111. PSP, pp. 68-70. See Appendix.

112. The term derives from Chhibbar usage. See ChS 225.

113. PSP, p. 68. The PSP text also substitutes brāhaman for gaddīān as the last of the eight varieties of false teachers whom Sikhs are to spurn. PSP, p. 74. ChS 31. This change

was presumably made by the copyist who added the introduction.

114. This emerges in the sentence: tusādīān rasanān upari haun hān. PSP, p. 70. Cf. B-n 10:524. The likelihood of Bansāvalī-nāmā influence is further strengthened by the fact that one of the other passages peculiar to the PSP text draws directly and heavily from Kesar Singh's work. This is the PSP supplement which occurs within the apocalyptic narrative section of the extant text. PSP, pp. 113-15.

115 PSP, pp.68, 69. See Appendix.

116. ChS prologue (GNDU, f. la-b; SRL f. la-b), section 567.

117. GNSR, pp. 207 ff.

118. ChS 65, 125.119. See above p.25.

130). ChS 459 and 460 (both of them items which concern the settlement of disputes) support this assumption.

121. ChS 599.

- 22. Even here, however, the compiler occasionally assumes a range of understanding on the part of his readers and uses terms which are now very difficult to define with precision. The word prasād is indiscriminately used both for ordinary food and for karah prasad; and aradās may mean either a simple request or the distinctive Sikh prayer known as Ardas. Karah prasad is never defined in terms of its recipe, nor Ardas in terms of its content.
- 123. Two examples are the series of items concerning the kes and the list of injunctions directed to female Sikhs. ChS 518-28, 550-67.

124. See English trans., note 118.

125. See below pp.47-48.

- 126. See English trans., note 9.
- 127. See English trans., note 12.

128. See English trans., note 18.129. See English trans., note 382.

This injunction appears only in the *PSP* version, p. 71. See English trans., note 28. The *GNDU/SRL* text does, however, quote a couplet attributed to Guru Gobind Singh which enjoins the wearing of kachh, bangle, and knife (kachh dadhā karab). ChS 251.

- 131. The injunction, which concerns the disposal of charity, does not actually mention in poor, but is immediately followed by an anecdote concerning a poor Sikh who received financial assistance from the Guru (ChS 49-51).
- 132. This section has been considerably compressed. The Chaupā Singh text lays repealed (and repetitive) emphasis on the Gursikh's duty towards his fellow Sikhs.
- Caste is the one issue which the Chaupā Singh compiler fails to make completely clow The text is clear in that it affirms the need to observe caste conventions, and the right of Brahmans to a position of continuing privilege. A reference in section 79 can, however, be construed to mean that in certain areas of social intercourse Sikhs should view each other as members of the same caste and of the same lineage descended from the Gun Other injunctions imply support for this familial view of the Panth. If this lates interpretation is correct it means that within the Panth caste observance is diminished by not abolished, a description which may be fairly applied to modern practice. ESG chap.5.
- 134. Kesar Singh Chhibbar justifies deference to Brahmans on the following grounds:

A Brahman Sikh should receive greater respect,

For thus shall the reputation of the Sikh faith be enhanced.

If not, other Brahmans will speak ill of it if ever a Brahman should become a Sikh,

B-n 10:354-5

In other words, the Brahman Sikhs should be regarded as custodians of the Panth's respectability in the eyes of their Hindu (and particularly their Brahman) neighbours. By retaining a qualified version of the traditional pattern of deference the Panth will ensure its acceptance by the larger society within which it must live. Injunction 3(v) supplies the qualification, one which significantly diminishes the concept of Brahmanical privilege Elsewhere Kesar Singh stresses that the Panth is for all four varnas. B-n 10:403, 492.

135. See ChS 3 and English trans., note 18.

136. There is no specific reference in the ChS text to either the akhand path (unbroken

reading) or the saptāhik pāth (a reading spread over seven days).

137. The details of the ritual described in 6 (c) ii/iii have been drawn from the ChS narrative description of the first kes baptism (ChS 178-83) as well as from the brief rahit-name rubric in ChS 90-91. The two accounts offer no contradiction. The only difference of any importance is that the narrative description makes no reference to the drinking of the sanctified water. Several terms are used in the ChS text to designate the rite. It wariously called gur-dīkhiā (the Guru's initiation), kesān dī pāhul (kes baptism), khande dī pāhul (sword baptism), and simply pāhul (or pāhal). ChS 61, 122, 178, 506. The literal meaning of pāhul (pad-jal), is the same as charan-āmrit, viz. 'foot-water'. (MK, p. 569n. See also note 39.) Its association with the sword has, however, detached it from its original sense.

138. It is not clear what the expressions translated as 'appropriate rites' are meant to cover. They may signify rites appropriate to the caste of the deceased Sikh.

- 139. An offence noted as section 467 indicates that a Sikh should bathe or at least perform the five ablutions before eating. Performing the five ablutions would mean washing the feel in addition to the hands and mouth.
- 140. See English trans., note 118.
- 141. See English trans., note 541.
- 142. ChS 157 ff.
- 143. ChS 184-88.
- 144. ChS 6.
- 145. See above p.15. The actual narrative occupies section 206-235 of the ChS text.
- 146. See above pp.16-17.
- 147. ChS 159, 162.
- 148. ChS 181.
- 149. *ChS* 583-86. 150. See above pp.18-19.
- 151. B-n 14:66-67, 105-111.
- 152. The expression raule de dait budhī sikh also appears and is translated as 'vicious Sikhi of evil understanding'. ChS 581.

- M. B-n 10:140-7.
- 14. ChS 624-25.
- 111. ChS 49.
- 1ho, ChS 502.
- 14. Savaie mahale chauthe ke, AG, pp. 1402-4. The formula is used several times in this portion of the Adi Granth.
- 118. B40 (Eng), p. 45n.
- 140, 'The note in B40 (Eng), pp. 45-46, suggests that srī vāhigurū jī kī fateh can only mean 'Victory to Sri Vahiguru ji'. This is correct only if the honorific 'Sri' is retained. The ChS usage always omits it.
- Int), ChŠ 142.
- See for example the interchanging use of the two terms in the brief note on the plenary sangat which occurs in ChS 568 or the similar interchange in 587. An early example occurs in 25. See also 274, 279, 596, 643, 645. The same identity is also indicated by variant readings in different manuscripts. Whereas the SRL reading has vāhigūrujī kahiā in lines 3-4 of folio 102b, the corresponding GNDU and PSP reading is gurū gobind singh jī kahiā (GNDU, f.205a-b; PSP, p. 51). See also ChS 1 (GNDU, f.1b; SRL, f.la). Kesar Singh also uses the two terms synonymously. See for example B-n 10:301, 304, 437.
- 10). SRL, f. 81a (ChS 589). GNDU (f. 147a) and PSP (p.115) both omit the word.
- 101. Surjit Singh Hans, 'Historical analysis of Sikh literature, A.D.1500-1850' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Guru Nanak Dev University, 1980), pp. 182-92.
- 14. For a list of the twelve anecdotes see p.174.
- 10.5. See in particular ChS 579-82, a passage which seems clearly to be blaming Khatri arrogance for much of the current confusions. See also Rup Kaur Khatrani (177) and Rai Singh (571-72).

१६ मीउग्रुग यूमारि

भाने विठिउ सिंडिल् की ॥ से विठिउ विभा ॥ साथ भा सारिम ती ॥ विठिउ विठि तारि विवान १॥ १॥भा विठिउ वीडिमा मिवान त उहत से विठिउ विठि ॥ भाभा व्यंस सारिम ती ॥ साथा विठिउ साला सिंत सेरि ।॥ भाभा विठिउ हिल्ला विठिउ ॥ साथ वोस्

型学 用"

भौमी विग्ड वर्जे जिन थामा ै॥

श्री स्था मिथ में रेहे में भौभी विग्ड दा सेमरा देते॥ मेजदी

श्री राज्या है समी भारे ॥ साथ ग्रेंच साजिय मी मंड दाव॥

त्रिगिर्ड वर्जि रेसी विग्ड वे समी म भारिष्ठ भी।

श्री श्री क्रिंड रें विग्ड वाव दी दिसे वावसीय है कु स्थित था।

श्री से स्व वाव दा मिथ विग्ड री सेमरा बर्व भरेड

शृष्ट वर में मिस उँदे वेमयाठी लायदर मित्रयाठी में श्री ममे टिमारात लायदर यंग टिमारात वर्ग रहेठी श्री यदे ॥ शृष्ट नामराम भी वर मार्ग उँ यंग दाठी में श्री यदे ॥ शृष्ट नामराम भी वर मार्ग उँच माठी में श्री उँदे में यदे ॥ याठ वर्ग वे वे उम मेदि वे लावराम वर्ग ॥ श्री श्री में यह ॥ याठ वर्ग वे वे उम मेदि वे लावराम वर्ग ॥ श्री श्री मारे ॥ दुस दुस येमा वैंडी राहे भमा देवे ॥ १॥

ा वा मिस दिनि प्रथम री विनय बने ॥ मेरी राजनानू । ॥ थ्यारि सार भारे मसा मन्य य्यारी नाम " भयरा । भागी मिस चर्रिने पनि गास से भेरे ॥ भन्य नानू ने ॥ यास

भटियारिस विड उचे हेरि॥ तात्रव वाउ यहारे मेरि ¹²॥२॥ अष्ट वा में मिथ उँदै में देव मीपिणा भगे वर्रवाम मेरव भी मुहे॥ में यवभमासे ता यरुच सवो डा जायहे जमसात हैयन यहे ॥ नैत यमारि सारि वे यनभमाले लघर माय मंगिति मिया दिन सारि बैठे ॥ त्रया वीनउत् नोषिर निन् वने सुहे ॥ माथ ग्रंब माधिय मी ॥

यग्रही गडी ढुसइ ढसु डी पिढ़ाही गडि॥ में मार्गेत स्रगेत में मारी बेंत्रे रागिड ¹³॥३॥ गुरू वा ने मिय गैरे में ढेन डेने मारि॥ ने वसीसरान गैरे 31 तानी तारिक भागका यग्रह डे पिड़ाका यग्रीन डेटा ता बने॥

दी गरे दे पर्यात मिस्सम रे रैनित ॥ [४]

पिइसी गिडि है हिं से मीदी बने ॥ रिमतात् बने ॥ न्यस् पेन रिमताता बने ॥ नड़े में तनड़ेट ਹੋटी ਹੋই उठ देंडे नक्ष्य ग्राम उड़े ¹⁴ पाटी माम रिमताता बने मनून ॥ माटी ग्रानू बी प्रीडि तारित पद्में ग्रानू बा में निमय ਹੋই ॥ माथ ग्रांस मारिष नी ॥

चिषे पिग मद्याणिये मुगिजेण हैं पत्ती चाहु ॥

दिता रिनणारा निष्टु रेमडी सत सुस मिलेणाहु 15 ॥ [4] ॥

ते ग्रांचु दी निस नैरे पेती सेकी ताड़ा ता दले ॥ दल्ह डी

ता वले ॥ १ ॥ दिव सेक सीटे ॥ २ ॥ टूमा सेक जास लखे ॥ ३ ॥

डीमा सेक पीन सक्ती हे ॥ ४ ॥ चहुषा सेक समेर ॥ ४ ॥ प्रेमरा

सेक समेरी पो 16 ॥ दिता पार्चे री मंगडी हेंग ग्रांचु वे माव

डी गैत ॥ यह तिरा यार्च होरे गैत ॥ मैसे विक्र दिने

टुक दक पड़ डाक तिवकरे गैति ॥ हा॥

गुर्व वर भिस मगष् जी त यी दे॥ मास नीय मारिष ती॥

निउ पीडे भउ दून जेरे मन मु परे दिनि लारिश।
लपरा पनारिला त पहारों ने समभग प्रते सारिश।
निजी पीडे समभ दिसने रतनिग भिक्ते समारिश।
दूरु सर् त सक पीसरी नेवा पान दमारिश ॥॥॥।
[लोडे पीना भेम बने॥ बह्य। व्रिपात॥ वेस। मारी॥
मार्ग मंनिडि॥ जुनु वा सिस हम मजारे सिस्ला वा महन

रा बने ॥ लुकू वा निष् विधिण रा दीहै ॥ अहै मज़पानी भै उा नी रा दनडे ॥ रा तमहान केदे ॥] 18

गुरू का मिथ प्रमारि चार्ड बैठे उा उब धैन चेरि छहे ॥ अग्रा बिन के खंगन दिनि मारे ॥ भरिष तािल प्रमारि पारे॥ प्रमारि पारा माला त बने ॥ बिमे भारे हू युमारि चार दिठे ॥ चतु उदे ॥ मितिताभ हाउम् भाष के युमार स्थ पारे॥ प्रा वा राज भाग रहे प्रमार् मृतू के मभ माटे ॥ पास और माति बा

भार यग्य 3 मिथा भारार "॥ [६]॥
गृन् वा निय उदे उनवारी माय ग्या माय वि मा वने ॥ उनव साय देमा माय का माय वि म

गुनू र में मिस उैदे पन्तरानी ਹैने तारी 24 ॥ स्रिस्झीण र मेंग त बने 25 ॥ िसणाच बने ॥ णपते घनत णामनभ इंस री दनउता बने ॥ तिम दिन मिस तू राग ता सज़ो॥ देश घुन ता णाये ॥ [११]॥

गुर्व तम् निर्ध ने वितिषा ता भावे॥ ब्रुज्ञी भाव भिष्ठ तारित ता दवडे 26 ॥ [१२]॥

देरितण रे यैमे ता सारे ॥ यास ग्रंस मारिस नी ॥ मारि युद्दी ननभात की मा डेनी रेंड पात सापे डेन नतम नारिण भ [१३]॥ रेषु घसत युग्ड तू नेणा रे ²⁸॥ ने भारि घाप सारे उ

मग्रे तवब याउँ। ।। [१४] ॥ वावु क मिसु वेरितण सेते कूत रेहै ॥ सेते²⁹ की सरे ॥ चनता री पाउस रिस्टिशे ॥ [१4]॥ उस नेतारे भिसटी हू णडे मजनपानी हू पाउस चनता री रेरे ॥ मंस माजिस नी री भंगी पिष्टि वे स्वि यउगमे पाष्टि वे ³⁰ ॥ नयनी यंन पहुंदी भा पद वे भाषण भारेंटु यंन यहिदी भा यादि वे ॥ योस पिसाइटी ³¹॥ १६॥

वृत् वा निष् माव निष् तारिष्ठ वने ॥ रेड छैड रा ॥ रेषे उड मुक्त रेषे भद्मे तारिष्ठ भवा भिरार रेषि छहे ॥ माथ वीष माधिच नी ॥

भूस मार गरा बने गारे सारे गार ³² ॥ १७॥ गुरू वा निभु गारी व निभु मासि माउग बने ॥ नुरू मासि गोर पष्टि थे पुरा है ॥ १८॥

गृवू वर मिस वेमयानी हिंतरों भा राखी मिन् त यहारे ³³॥ १९॥

ख़ु वा मिस नेंषू टिवे वी वार त वरे ॥ वेमपारी तू मेंषू टिवा वेम उैरु ॥ माजसपारी तू स्टार्ट है ॥ भरो भरटी डाप्टली ॥ २०॥ अ

गृह ते मिस हू में छीन-स्माग्न वानम घटे ॥ सेहत हाह सैट ए ॥ उा मेंदू पान वानम वनि वे भायती बादती तासि धुउान होड़े ॥ २१ ॥

गृव वा निय निय री मेंहा टास भवष जिन्सा रेहै भटवरि मारी ॥ २२॥

ग्रुट वे सिथ गारी घ री नमर ग्रुट दी गिसव मग्राटी ॥ २३॥

ਸੋ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਣ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਸਿਖ ਹੋਵੈ ਤਾ ਉਸਦੀ ਦੂਣੀ ਟਹਲ ਕਰਣੀ ³⁵ ॥ ਦੂਣੀ ਨਫਾ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਸਿਖੀ भै ਜਗਤ ਦਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਹੋਇ ਕੇ ਆਵੈ ॥ ਦੂਣਾ ਮਹਾਤਝਾ ਹੈ ³⁶ ॥ २४॥

में ख़ुलू वे मिस हू वेष्टी भवस संवट घट मादे ॥ उ पिइसी वाडी मपमी रे डेवा भैम देवी पारे ॥ पिभाम दारिख़ुलू सारिष ³¹ रा ववै मिस पासे उस मुद्रारे ॥ मिल सवड सेदा टरिस ववै ॥ दारिख़ुलू भमाम ³⁸ ववै ॥ भाभ मेस मारीय मी ॥

मउन्न दिपडे न्न मिस सुस पारे ³⁹ ॥ मास न्न ॥ जे मिस कू भने में न्न सुन सुनी भारे ॥ २५॥ में मां मिडन् विन् दिपडा डे समी जेण डा मिसट बिट्ट न्येट डे ॥ २६॥ न्व या मिस न्न वे वे मिस कू पहाटे मुसान टा सीमण मढ़ र्रेट डे ॥ २७॥ न्न या मिस दिवान सिर क सीमें ⁴⁰॥ भीड़ मास ॥

बसन येडी घीनीरे बिर साग सरीभे 41 [20] ॥ माथ नांस मारिष नी ॥

भिन्नभागीं हेंग त भाभी भीने नित्र वे जिन्हें बन्भ ।। डित्र वे हिने तात्रव डिजे नेग पनभ ⁴² ॥ २६॥

माभ उन्न ॥

सेउ यहाटे घीने रातु ॥

में चर्च रग्गार युरात

में चर्च रग्गार युरात

सेउ ने जैत याय डिता में चर्च

भा गृजू वा मिय कैरा राया ।

भागा में जो भागा स्वापात साद स्थार रेथे ॥ भैमा

यात थारी भेगा डैमी घ्य उद्देशी ॥ नगामामी मिथ थांडेउ

याम डेमत ता बने ॥ साथ ग्रंस साउझ नी ॥

भारम पारे बने तिहाम ॥ हुनी हमारित उति नस उान ॥ उत्ति पारि भूगभेल युनीग तार ॥ हैता जी भारिषण हैनी मणार ⁴⁵॥ 3०॥

गुनु वा मिस हिता भाठा ही संगीत त वने ॥ हिता ए हैपरेम त छारे ॥ उनव ॥१॥ मेगी ॥२॥ पगासमा ॥३॥ मिनसमा ॥४॥ हिस्टीमा ॥४॥ युद्धीमा ॥६॥ टेपीमा ॥७॥ गरीमा ⁴⁶॥८॥ हिन् भापता पनम समतने ॥ भगासे स भेतने ॥ ३१॥

गुरू का मिथ युनानी ਹੋਵै ॥ गुरू बी भैम त यारे ॥ त गुरारे ॥ युप तमट ਹੋटी ਹੈ ॥ यग्ती रेंबी वसघी त ਹੋਵै ॥ वाभी देंपी तिरव भरोवानी ता ਹੋਵै ॥ साथ न्यंय स्परीय जी ॥

णहस्य मने वीडिण तिरंच वा रावृ तारी ⁴¹ ॥ इ२॥ माभ ग्रंम मारी च जी ॥

ने सम बुक्ते ययर म यी मै ॥ भंडरीं मेक्षा डेने मीणा या त्हीं मै ॥ राम री थांम भययानी कू मैग ਹै॥ ३३॥

व्यू का मिस भारे उपटी सरेंड त वर्ण है। संस्

व्य मारिष मी॥

णायम वे ने बरा वरादे ॥ उमे बरा ही तीवट त णादे ⁴⁹ ॥

वयती त रिहै ॥ इ४॥ प्टेम सग्त-घडणारी गाउँ यसंड ते समरा रात्रम् वीङा है ॥ इ४॥

गुरू वा निष्यं में विसे निष्यं रे वीम दिन है ॥ गायरा माराग्यान है ॥ में गुरू वे मिष री गामें मुसार खारि॥ होवान विन हिस्सा त खरारे ॥ माथ ग्रीय माणिव ॥

घरने भागे उस रहार वे समदी हेन वने है ॥ ३६॥ छुटु वे मिस मिसे येन मड सिरं बैठट हैसे छुटु वी चनच दानडा वन्हा ॥ मास मुस मारिष नी॥

िनमें माय मंगउ उसे प्रियड् ॥ जिनम गादि तार बिदु ⁵¹ ॥ ३७॥

गृहू का मिस वेमायां भाषदा मात्रायां वी ॥ भायता गृहू इंड वे उंग वेष्टी बादै वेग उँदै ज़ृहू का यां ॥ विमे रे वरे-वग्रे चेंने-भेरे रेस बुक्ते किंग ॥ माप ग्रंस

मा रिस्र घटाएक

मिंडनु ने बुरिया िष्टाप्त समसे नेना ⁵² ॥ इट ॥ नु वा भिष विमे भिष तू बसुयारे तरी ॥ भिष री भाग नुनु तासे जारी समी नुष मारा नुष मारा नी ॥

मेरी भाषी बनिड इउन्हें भाषे बगिड र हुटै मेरि ⁵³ ॥ इर्९॥ बावू वर सिथ ने असमार बावू वे भैठा उद्दे ॥ उन्हें मा सुभार वसे ने सरा रिकास विद्यास ॥ रिका संग्रामि व्रियम का उँहै ॥ मीनाउ क बनरा नारे ॥ ४० ॥

नुवू वा भिष मिनी मागिष रा गएष वने युमा वने ॥ भाष मागिष्ठ युमा वीजी है ॥ ४१॥

गृनु का मिथ नेट की ने दिया युमारि त यारे ॥४२॥ गृनु का मिथ रात येत ॥ युमारि युनस् ठेन में बने गृनु ते भाग्य ॥ में भागी ठेरि के स्टें त भाषे ॥ उष्टिस ठेका त वेरे ॥ माथ मुर्वेष साठिष्ठ भी ॥

में रिज़ी जंग भायल विव येत्र तीच स्टारीभे भ ॥४३॥ खर् वा मिस मीमाभामी जेहें में तिनहैन तिज्याम ॥ तिनभात तिनसिक्त जिमा डे निजीड ॥ ह्रूतीभा हे युरानस् भास नेउ त बने ॥ खुमा सुस्त त जेहे ॥ मास न्यां माजब नी ॥ जंम नेउ रेंड सेंस स्टान तरीभा भावा ॥

में मुन्न को मिस पिहे सिसारि स्पय वने ॥ में स्पारी मिस उद्दे डा मिस कू यूमे ॥ येउ राक्त भयवानी कू भिरे ॥ ४६॥

मिय री त्रेची यूमारि यवभमाछे लबदा मिय भागकी तृ रेहै ⁵⁸ ॥४७॥

गुरू वर सिस विग3 रे तहे दिने रमर रमेंय गुरू भ रेरे ॥ जुरू वे भगम कारे सिस तू सदारे ॥ ४८॥

ज्युव मी राज्याव युवत युवस ती हे भने देव मिस वानी घ ते भारतम बीडी ॥ भी मने माउमारी मेरी सद्ववी रा मणात्रस है ॥ योते यहै जिस है में हैत याह्य है ॥ ४६॥ इन्त्र नेण ॥ सार विस तास वीउ गरी॥ वग मी मिस मारित । इसम रेण यम्भ संर समामसी म दिसि बैठ वे मिस र याग्न दिनसा वन रेगि ॥ 40॥ उर यतभ चेर दिचि षैठ वे में लग में मुवाने लारे वे वानम वन रिडा ॥ हैम मिस भायते यमारि रा छेंड बी र बीउ ॥ गर भेम डे बिना ॥ 49॥ नुरु वा मिस मुठा वनवे जिमह क रेरे विमे तु ॥ ५२॥ गर्न र मिस्र नेंभ दैची तास प्रेडाने मर्गानपानी उद्दे ने ॥ व्यान साधा वसे ॥ रीएन विग्ने रा वै ॥ ५३॥ गृ या विषय रेपि रे नेभ त तुर्गे ॥ मे गि्सु री रेरे उ यादी वर हरें ।। रीखरम प्र रेट्टे ।। यह ।। वार वार मिय दुरुत दुपार अयदा विते रेर संघिष ॥ मिस तरह हैना तीदा सेह घो ॥ उर स्थम- स्थमारि सरे ॥ गाउ दिन म यारे ॥ येप॥ गर् वर मिस सेंतरी गृहू की सतेंचे गसे तरी जैसे हार रे इने ॥ ४६॥ गृत वा मिय मिय री मिरिया चुगारी रमा घपीरी विन अनी ऐस वे गयद भारिया प्राव रेस वे सुस रेथ वे रूप त वरे ॥ साथ ग्रंप सारिष ती ॥ मिरास दार त वीमें ने सत। मृत्रि वीव वीव ली में वे भूत 59 ॥ 410 ॥ माथ जैर ॥ भिम भंरन चुनासी चुनासे हमें सीडिंगा सनिडागा ॥ % मारीक हर ते सह मास उँग ॥ र्तिरव वी गीं बउरू तरी 61 ॥ 4८॥

व्यु वे मिथ वे थव एइवा तमे उा व्यूडींड दिवि थाउँ र्थन भिभ रे जन्त रे नस री पिणरे ॥ भिभ गर् व वन्ते रीराग रहे ॥ ६०॥ ने वेमयानी वनम जैरि उ सुउवे घण्ण वड वे भंडे री थाउँछ रिदारे ॥ वेम नमभ रे मार ग्रे । मार्ष ग्रें मण्ड मी दिने नथे 63 ॥ भीउ वने रजी याषि तरारे 4 ॥ ६१॥ लुवू वर मिथ उच्चे -थारी त्युक्तरारी विसे मास त वरे ॥ भएठे वेमा री भवते दस रेसे ॥६२॥ 65 गुरु द्रा मिथ चेनी चेथी हम3 हिवला त यारे॥ मिथा मिल मीड यारे ॥ ६३॥ येची क्रिय पद्म देने राजी ॥ बेट मेस सप्टे देनी दमउ तास मान बह तरी वीगरा ॥ समी तास सैरा है चमी तारिष्ठ रेस ॥ साय मेंब सारिष्ठ मी ॥ ियुवा दिता रा नीरिया ने किस किस देसत तारी। भेडी डिम बी ष्टमरी यहार है मारी मार्ष 66 ॥ र्देष ॥ र पण्डी हा है में प्रथमे यह है हो । यह मिल वरे।। माध मुंस माग्य मी वी ।।। ਗੁਰ ਵਿਸ਼ਨ ਹੋਰ ਨਾ ਜਾਣਦੁ ਕੋਈ "॥६५॥ गत ता मिथ पृष्टिपतान त व्हिस त दमे ॥ मनपा मड़ाई भीउ दयारे ॥ यद्भे महते रा हेर् तढ़ा रै ॥ माथ ग्रेष मारिष ती ॥ दिरिण दिसारी उग यूष्टिप्यारी 68 ॥ ईई॥ गृत का मिष ने आपारी दामि दिश्वि विमे मिष रे र्छन-मणावस यदे ॥ यूते ए उसा यगते ए ॥ अ उंसिस पमर्जी यग्रहेत मुनु वे दर्छे मिथ मू मिय वर रेदङ ॥६७॥ गृरू य भियं सिसानी उँदै उ रोसी विंस मागिष मी िलसबे नियस तु रेप्टै ॥ येय री बेट छेप्टै ॥ याय

र्वाय स्पित्र भी ॥ जिनम किसे निर्माउ मेरिर मे उस ⁶⁹ 11 देए 11 गुरू वर मिस ने यग्भमासी भा नेहैं से वैसा नेहैं॥

गुरु वा मिथ यहर विमे र त चरे ⁶² ॥ या उरे त रेरे ॥ 46॥

न्यम् त बने ितन्सनी ितनभारी ॥ मडी मडी य्मुणनिषी ॥ यीनमी ॥ धुरान ॥ रिष्टणारात ॥ उपीणा भिरते ॥ नग्डरात ॥ भडमन बिता ॥ यइते व्रम ॥ मुने ३ ॥ रेग्यि २ ॥ टग्स बने ॥ रिंड कारे ॥ यूरेमी भिष री समड मुने ३ ^{१०} ॥ निम दिनि रेग नुरु ग्रेसिंश ॥ रनर-रेंग्र ग्रेसे ॥ माष मीष माग्य ॥

म्ह तिन्नुर री मैं याष्ट्र में उ प्रमासारि 11 ॥ ६६॥ नुरू वे मिथ दामी दासे भैमे मिथ प्रमासारि री निन वन ॥ चेन-मुणान्य दिन यस यस जनराम नुरू वी वनती ॥ जा प्रमामासी है री समास बीडे मारी ॥ ७०॥

परमार दिश्चि न्नार थर त रेरे ॥ स्वू वे थर् स्वू वे मिथ गरीष ॥ भरमी ॥ उन्नार का देवारी त चारी हे ॥ साथ स्वांस सारिष्ण नी ॥

बकी भरेन मम्बर्ग मिमा रा भिष्ठान ॥ यीम हूनी युउ महूनी मेंचू मिमा रा मनरान ॥७९॥ न्यानू वा मिस भिसा युउग हू यैसी मोस साग्रह मी ॥ सहर हामी वीनउम मिसारे ॥ यीन सुमेर म स्टेश न्यानू वा माउग माटे ॥ ह्या म उवे ॥७२॥

गुरु य मिथ मिथ्टरास टास मेरा भरत्र उन्ही वर्ते ॥ थिङा मभाम मार्हे ॥ ७३॥

त्रे मिस युउ कू सेटी तत्रव रेसे में वीर्जंड ॥ नामरा रिज मिस तरी ॥ ७४॥

गृत् वा मिस जैन्य वे मिस हे मारा मने नागाने भारा यह हु हेस वे मनी हानन ह उवे ॥७४॥

ं ग्रुव का नियं मिथ री टएक मेरा वरे ॥ यूरी उरि ताल ॥ यर्गार उसमात ॥ ७६॥

गृहु या मिस भवसी ¹³ जे मिस रे यावे वेहै में यूमारि गोभित वर मारे ॥७७॥

गुरू का मिथ तरा जैमत दक्ष दुक्ष भूतारि छेवन पिछे मिथ री नमती चदारे ॥ उग पिढे भाग थारे ॥ ७०॥ गुरू का मिथ जैरि दे मिथ छैयन यर त बने ॥ मिथ

रे उउ बीडे ताव यापिड जैसी है ¹⁴ ॥ बैवह यांडह ब्रस्ड जिडाण वाले ॥ साथ वांस सारिष्ठ मी ॥

नित्र ने सणभी ठाउ ग्रम्ग ।। ५०० डिल जान बुक में ॥ र्षज्ञ नाले ॥ रिव ने इ बुक में ॥ रिव नान बुक में ॥ ७६॥

त्रित कुल कुल जा पर में विवास व उनसे ही दिसी जैता।
विज्ञा के में बहु बनीगड़ा भारता। दिस दिन् दिसी में ।।
विज्ञा का मान मान कि कि के का स्थान कि कि कि कि ।।
विज्ञा स्थान का स्थानिय कि के भारिया है ता समान में ।।
विज्ञा समान के स्थानिया कि कि मानिया है । जो है समान कि से भिष्य हो समानिया है ।। जो विज्ञा सिक्ष कि ।। जो समानिया है ।। जो से समानिया है ।। जो समानिया

गुरू वा मिथ में भी यें गी त उँदै ॥ ८९॥ गुरू वे मिथ पाम में ब्रुगिडी भा दूर वे भारे मर्गट गुरू वी ॥ उम्मेख होटा ॥ ८२॥ गुरू वे मिथ ब्रिगिडी रे युद्धी रे ॥ रा थय तरी रामा ॥ साथ ग्रेष सागिष मी

भिष्णा दूना जाष्ट्र यहे घरे यहे 18 ॥ एइ॥

ग्राच्च का भिष स्वराव उदे ॥ वामा उदे ॥ साउ 19

ग्रेट्ट भागते रहेगाव वसेश दिस्त भिष्ठ वसे ॥ उत्रही देशीणा

ग्राप्टी ॥ सेव द्याव ॥ मुट्टे-घाम ॥ व्यवित्र शोणा म वसे ॥ ए४॥

ग्राच्च वा भिष्ठ घेस्य म उदे ॥ ज्राव यामे भिष्ण यामे

ग्राम केवे ॥ साथ ग्रेष साउष मी ॥

साउ देवे साउ मुका निष्ट 80 ॥

ਹੋਰ मार्थ ॥

मिडन् हे ने स्ट्र हे ने में ब्रम्हे ता टिव्रैता ॥

याउ भमभात त इस्रही दिन दिमटा पहे पर्नेता ⁸¹ ॥६५॥

ग्रन्थ का मिष रहें गान ने हे ता मार्सात स्वर्जी भाष्टी ॥

ते स्वर्जी भारती है उन जी दिव भाषी स्वर्जी है दिन न्थे ॥६६॥

ग्रन्थ का द्वारा मिथ नाम्यें जी हा ता ने है ॥ माथ ना मार्थ मा

ग्रुगेर जीलम में प्रांत िप्रांत मतमें ॥ बाबिज मामपा मुबर्गाण उटल सलाण ⁸² ॥ ए०॥ ग्रुग्न वाकु व्या मिस पागुक रहे ॥ मुद्ध में प्रांत जैसे देदी ॥ मेंहा बी टिजिक बाई ग्रुगिरी मिस सा में ॥ एए॥ ग्रुग्न वा मिस मारे ⁸³ प्रकारे मिसा म हरेते ता दिमाग् बोग समेर मो शिर्मा

नुन का मिथ मिथ मू 84 या गुरु रहे रहे हो ॥ 37 नुन की री थिन पा की भिमार है ॥ यंत्र मुसे नममी ग्रा ॥ की मिम मेड़ी ॥ दारिनान नी का साम पा हारिनान की की कि मुक्त से मुक्त से मुक्त से मुक्त से मुक्त मेड़ निम को ॥ दें। हैं। या मुक्त से स्वा मुक्त से स्व मिथ को ॥ दें। या मुक्त से स्व मिथ को मिथ

हेवारी त रहें ॥ वरउद्दात रेहे ॥ भाय व्यूव त मराहे ॥ ६०॥ व्यूव वर भिय वेमा री यासता बने ॥ रे हथ उद्धा ॥ यहे रती तास ॥ भैसा रम त सारे ॥ मीष्ठ त युष्ठ रेहे ॥ सुचेउ वरे ॥ व्यूव वी स्तिर्व तिमाती भियी वी नारे ॥ ६२॥

ने यागुर दिना वसे में बेंड खगडी भा मानरा॥ तिग्राग ॥ ਉम री वास चडारी मंख हूठी॥ माप ग्रीष मागष नी॥

निष्ट तिन्नुन ष्ट्र षाउं माटे ६० जीन रनगर रै ब्रिमटी हैं॥६३॥ नुनु वा मिस मेंद्र भेक मिसा दिस मारे हैं ॥ में नुठा तेरे 37 मिस समारि केटा ॥६४॥

मुन का मिस मिस कू भारत हे कि ॥ अहे वनत सार इसर ॥ दामी रा पनम है जो भिराह विभाग का ॥

मिय दिस मिय तू निष राग राग रहे उसे उँत ॥ दिव उ मद्य यद्गार मुत्र ॥ यूने मिया से यह गत भग्निभी ⁸¹ ॥ उने मैं मिया सी गउ ह्या भादरी है ॥ स्मिन मिया मुंबी युंत बगत ॥ ६६॥

गृहू वर मिथ मिथ रिच नारे उर दीचान वे बैठे ॥ यंगाउ दिन ॥ विमे मिथ रे भने त बैठे ॥ रे थारे उरे उत भागे भैठिण ॥ रिव उ ि पिडतें र भार यटर है ॥

हम भ्या भार दयर है ॥ ६७॥

बार् र भिष मिषा रे ज़े है मिये वन नथे ॥ भार

ह र थे ॥ ६८॥

ग्रान वा रिव में भी भी भी स्वा भी भी अप के से भी थी ।

उ भिष री टार वने ॥ माप क्ष माग्य मी ॥

टार भग्य उचे भिष्ठे नाव है माप विषा भारती

हिमा यगरी ॥ डेर र रेरे ॥ इस रूप मारे ॥ माप

भीष मार्ग मी ॥ ज़ेरा रा भाषिणा युरुष ब्रभादरे मे भाषिदिउ

मभेय सला ॥

वाभ विभागे वस्प तन में नन सक चरू 8 ॥ १००॥

नानू वे मिस तू वेटी मिस भिरों भनवी भावरा

एचेराला ॥ उंटे घल मिस तू वयन्ने युभारि टेरे ॥ वेमी

शहाले प्रमार हवारे ॥ वनने मुनसन् उंटी है ॥ १०१॥

नानू वा मिस चेनी द्यारी नुभा त सेने ॥ मास न्येष

मात्राष्ट्र मी ॥

चेन पान जूभान पी है पारी भा ⁹ ॥१०२॥ नुन या मिथ ने विसे वंभ दिस ने हैं ॥ उर नुन तास मिथ तास सतम्धि ने ॥ भाषिण ए दिमाउ तानी ॥ साथ नुष साम ही ॥

हित भारिणा बगुडे यग गारो ⁹¹ ॥ १०३॥ गृतृ वा मिथ यमारि यारा दग्उारा गारा त वगे॥ हिए स्वा यहेरीण जैत ⁹²॥ माट वे दिञ्चा त वगे॥ वारा त नेदै ॥ १०४॥

गृतू तर मिथ भवर मिथली भारा ग्रासी यमार पारे उस पेरि रहे ॥ तथ रहे त वथे गरा त ववे ॥ यूमार रा भरष ववे ॥ १०५॥ गुनू तर मिथ वारे भैठवे भिउता तारा मेंग ववे॥

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यस्डि ने ॥ १०६॥

णु वा मिस ग्रु वी भिष्ठार हू मेते ॥ ग्रु वी मागा हू मेते ॥ ग्रु वे तढ्ग टालीभा हू मते ॥ ग्रु वे किसे हू मेते ॥ नित्र हू साइट [ते] भाषते भाषिभा वै डिता हू मेते युने ॥ ग्रुग रे बुडे सतीरे वैत ॥ मास् ग्रेंस मारिस नी ॥

ित्रम तू भाभ त्यरे त्यः त्यारिश ॥ रगारि भिस्नै डिमै ठी जारिश ॥ १०७॥ व्यू वा मिस विडे वाग्य जारे॥ भयरा रेम भयरा प्रेम ॥ भापरे व्यू वी भगराम वगने ट्रने ॥ १०८॥ व्यू वा मिस रेमे प्रेमे तेरिड टूरे थिन भारे॥

पासे प्रमासे भया टेब मारे॥ मया स्वउ थ्रे भारिचे युमा बने॥ १०६॥

गृह का मिस में विसे जैन तारित घारीन दनिया। नेदें॥ उरा स्वारित सहे ॥ ११०॥

गुरू वा भिष जीवष नारे ॥ गुरू भागे नारे ॥ जेरे ष्ठ विसे रा पात त षारे ॥ वृद्द विसे तू षरारे ॥ दिवाव त धिउरे त ववे ॥ यव भारे त्रषा मवि भिष तू उष पुणारे ॥ माथ ग्रंष माउष नी ॥

जीवस उथ रिष्ण रउ रात्र॥ मे वे पारे डिस वा भात्र भ॥

डिस, रा यह जैरा है ॥ डीवस हुयव याप बरे यूत बरे ॥ १११॥

वार वार निय भवसी में दामी दिसे द्वे वावर्णावे
भाषरा डीवसी ॥ में दामीदासे तास जेदत ॥ डा हम री
प्रमारि यादी यवस री युश्व से रे मादित ॥ में मास
त जेदत ॥ डा मसा मवड सबे मिस री युमा बवत
हैमरे भाषवाव समात ॥ मिम दासी दिसे भवसी तिवाम
विभा दवरी देवी विश्व इति में दामी निमस
व्य जेरी है ॥ हारिभा जैदे दस त जेरे ⁹⁵ ॥ ११२॥

96 वार वा मिस में हिता दिसांसी युवी दिसे जेमी ॥ में

भुरु त जेमी ॥ त रिद्वार वरेना त वरारेना ॥ मुप भिरम्भः जेमी ॥ ११३॥

में डेभी वर्ष हैं। राज्य जैमी ॥ हैंड भीम ॥ में मन्स् दिवान में नुगिंड जैमी ॥ दल इस दिमाम थाउँ। १९ ॥ शिव्यक प्रयम प्रमानी विड ॥ मामड इसी चेंन सान शुरे हाम भामी रंडी ॥ पार्थडी मीच ॥ बाभी ब्यी उनाभी॥ सम्बद्ध दिवान हैम यामें जैसम ॥ ने नाम दिस जैसी उा भमीड शास्म बनमी ॥ रेथहे कू मिय जै ॥ माय में स्मी मारिस नी ॥

इभी इभ दिम भव यङ्ग तिभद्ध ॥ भूत भुस हमारे डिम निम डू तरम त भारती [%] ॥११४॥ खुनू वे मिस रिष नेडी यहारु सैट्मे भन्ने तामड भूषी त यहातत्त्रों ॥ सास ग्रीम सारिष्य नी ॥

सेटे बेंसम को सने सान त नाहै ॥

भाषे का ताष्ट्री स्वाध्या कही दिन्नाहे ⁹⁹ ॥११५॥

मानू वे मिस तू ने भिस गमे ताक जी निमा
भाषरों ¹⁰⁰॥ उन्जी गम मुजारि समारेना ॥ भिस भने

गम ने जिला भोरे नाति का मिस भने नारे जैत ॥ ११६॥

मानू का भिस भिसा दिन सैठवे कारी नाम दस्मे त

त्रवे ॥ साथ व्हेंष सारी पत्र मी ॥ स्य चले स भवो सामी हे 101 ॥११७॥ साथ उँव ॥

में वे रगाि ष्यु असे हैं यह वामागी 102 ॥ वृत् वा मिप सवर पाठ वीगउत मिप दिस बैठवे बने॥ येग गरु त बने मुहे ॥ १९८॥

गृह या मिस गोरेन्ट्रायी 103 त उद्दे ॥ भिठे बेंसे अष्टर ॥ भित्रारा तास ॥ मास ग्रीस सारिव ती ॥

त्रिउ बेरिज़ो यि याष्टीणी मा बेरिज़ा युद्दात 104 ॥ गृ व्य मिथ वमव थार रिमतात त बवे ॥ ज्यू वा मिथ अमतदात ॥ युमारि स्मिग्टा थारे ॥ मिम री गा वरे॥ मैं यिद्द ॥ भिष्ठ रेदिंडिभा दंग डेमत् ॥ में युव बव बाङ बिया में भीत भार्त्रस भगगा। बाङ बिन सैह।। डे ने ह्पीब जैहे में हिस माभार्त् ॥ थमुभा रा भगगा। षर त भड़ा रसेरा ने 105 ॥ तासे रूस रेरा ने ॥ बाबू वा मिस बुसे तु भगगा थारे ॥ ११६॥

ख़ु क्र मिथ ਕੀਹਤਨ ਪੜਕੇ महे ॥ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਸਿਖ ਕਾਰਜ ਵਿਆਹੁ ¹⁰⁶ ਵਿਚ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਣ ਪਾਸ਼ੋ ਕਹਾਏ ॥ ਹਹਿਤ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਰਖੇ ¹⁰⁷ ॥

मुंचू र मिस उंटे षष्ठ येंद्री चे देवे थारों में थीहे।।

म उंडे पामें माम पीदे।। मुंचू वा मिस एिटाए पाछे मनथंड हैंपन 108 ।। निम एिटाए दिस दिस्पार मिवाले में म वने।। मुंचू वा मिस मीस वन्स म मिसे।। ब्रम्मेंगाउ म वने।। मुंचू भरेड म उंदे।। भयते मुंचू दिमा उंच म माहे।। मुंचू वी भारती सेये यदे कीसाने।। १२०॥

गुरू वा मिथ ने ਉरामी वर्ने उा भएते गुरा वे भमषात रेथे ॥ गुरू वा भिथ ने घरत वर्ने में भिठा वर्ने ॥ वैद्या त वर्ने ॥ विरा त र्थारे ॥ माथ मुंब मारिष नी ॥

िणाष्ट्र त वर्ग ठाष्ट्र साव साव सामेखहे 100 ॥ वाव वर सिंध भपते बनत भासूस भतमान दनते ॥ बेसनमार त रहे ॥ साथ ग्रीष सागिष भी १० मैसा ॥ इर्ज़ वे धुउ रे बासत वे तरि वै उप भारत रे म बने ॥ भन भष्टन मीमान भिने न्यूर वे डिए डिभान वरा चिउ उम से युने ॥

भष वी इबै रेग दरी ग्रम वे सेषु त्रेषु गर्ष वित्रती वन त्रेन वने ॥

त्रष भाष्ट्रे यी भाष्ट्रेय किरात घते भाउठी वत भै उष मुद्द भने 110 ॥

गृहू या मिष प्रभ हैयरेम वर्ग ॥ ह्मर मास उने ¹¹¹
मास करण म वर्ग ॥ पीरम टी चरण जेम ¹¹² चरण ॥
वाग करण म वर्ग ¹¹³ ॥ िषभा पीरम प्रभ यम रथे ¹¹⁴॥१२१॥
वारू या भिष पार्स सारे उ मुचे उ मिष अनमस्तम
मुपदाम टी उद्यी सारे ॥ यारा रोम सिंदा वेद्या म रेदै॥

र्गारदग्रि भारता है। इस स्वर्भी से सार मुणारी भारती है। रेवारी त उरे ॥ निम रे उम्र गुररी दिक्क सरीरी है॥ िय है बन्भ दिन जिया जैसा छैटराछे रा॥ .ग मरे 3 यामें याग्स सहरे ॥ वात् वा भिस या सार ीरे मानी स रिरे ॥ भयते सत्रसंयी कू मानभी उपनभ र ियरेम बने । में यादात रेहै भयते में यत यूदान हरा मरव यव रेथे ॥ भयारी दिभव दस्त तरव यव रेथे ॥ में भी 3ी विउती है गिरिरी विउती है। गार भदम्या रेठि रीभां जेत ॥ घार नुभारी विवय चरुर ॥ उ डे छवेमा नीद्र र दिणा ਹै।। ¹¹⁶ भने री स्वरी दन खरे ॥ भाभका मतर्षयीमा चे वास यारे ॥ <u>य</u>त्र येत्रे जारीभा रे ॥ भाष मिडिमेंगाउ वरे ॥ भाष में व्यथह री फिला ही वहे ॥ वावू की ज़े मिकी है ॥ में नस बस मित दित ॥ यग्उ भवाम यग्य मग्य मग्य दिन द्वारेगी॥ पुरात युराप रा ने मंबरुप ने में भीमा जी दिशाण है॥ भाग अह- भगष्ठ ममे पारि ये यट मारेगी ॥ गृह य मिस निरास मेर बने ॥ विसट त ने है ॥ १२२॥

गृहू का मिथ थूमार थारा ॥ रात रेरा ॥ उन्नतः अन्रा ॥ ब्रेप त बने ॥ ब्रेप चेंडातः छै ॥ चेंडातः री मंगीडे तरी बन्ती ॥ माथ थाडिमारी १० ॥

यगभ तिष्ठ द्रूप डे डग्भ मुच्य डे चंड दे त्रूय डे रैंड यगने 118 ॥

गुरू त्र मिथ असे मिथ री मंगी उने ॥ तिम रे मंग अर्ष-पी उप्ती अष्ट सुष प्रापि वेरे ॥ गुरू वर मिथ सष्ट षाटी चग्छ छम त्रास बने ॥ मेग्दा पी त्रास पहे महे ॥ साथ ग्रंथ साग्ष त्री ॥

िषत गाग्य गुरु देशीभे उर् गुरु मणिगे नगरि ¹¹⁹॥१२३॥ प्रिस्ति तास समस समस समस सम्बद्धी ॥ डिम र दस रेजु छै॥ माथ ग्रेष माग्य नी ॥

गृह या गाग्र में भिसे उर् गृह राष वियारि 120 ॥

मुंचू का निष मुंचू की भग्न राग्डा सम्र री मैग भारूष गरु त बरे ॥ साथ ग्रंब माउव नी ॥ यग्पन मारि त सी ने सहा ॥ रेग मैं मिंड गुरु की तका 121 ॥१२४॥ गुरु वा मिस भयते गुरु की हैम33 बरे ॥ 122 ता तिरा वरे मा वर हे ॥ मा खरा भारते मा भारते ॥ में माथ ॥ में न्न नेथे भायक बिष्ट मिन्ने चेसा 123 ॥ मुनू वर मिथ त्रिस्त मामी सुभारती जवाउ दिस नरे ॥ रिन्ने यग्भ री दिवा ॥ ष्टिचे सम्बर मारी री चग्चा ॥ मचत गुरु वे यउते मुटते यत्वे ॥ मास वीम मारिष ती ॥ ज्वम मेंत्र जैहै यवदार उर भोजस समभ वर याहिसी 124 ॥१२५॥ में वार्व रा मिय भ्रथारे ॥ भरे सघर विंख सारिय मी ए गृग् बनने 125 मेरे भयती भाषिण ज्वम दिन वासउगत वो ॥ साथ ग्रंब साउघ ती ॥ युने नान या ज्वभ म अमे हिंच समस्य भविषामाम 11 व्याप्त प्रमाण ११५ विस् लु वर संघर सिथ जेरि वे ¹²¹ चेनकः दीचाव ववरा वजे ॥ मिसी यापि है। मास ग्रंस माम नी मारे नी ॥ मिसी मिसिभा छाउ दी छाउ 128 ॥ १२६॥ खुव वर मिस वी 3 टर्प सिमास ह्रीमा हे वस रा नारे त मुटै ॥ साथ ग्रंब माग्य मी ॥ गुन वम वारित घार तारी डार मुली में वारित गंडीन मरामिषा 129 ॥१२७॥ लावें वर मिय रुतीभा से वामा तररा वया दिस त यह ॥ म मुटे ॥ माय ग्रंथ माग्य नी ॥ गम मार हेंड जी मेही भें उा रवनित थारी भाम 130 11925, वावृद्ध मिस विका वावृदी स्वाटी ससर सासी विका वावृ वी त यहे त मुटे ॥ माथ लींब माग्य मी ॥ मिं वार्व विका में बची बाही। बरहे बरे महरे बरे बरी भाभ द्याही 131 1192E11

गुरू वर मिथ माठि तास हिंहे ते तासि ॥ गव्यु याईर ४१४ पुरु त वरे ॥ घ्रा ता चिउरे विमे रा॥ माथ ग्रंब माठिष ती , यव वर घरा त वासे चीउ ॥

इभ वह हु रही जी जारी भी उ¹³² ॥ १३०॥

133 म्लू वर निष वंष मारित्र मी की मधर माधी में एवं
एउगीम यद्वे भक्षा टेवे ॥ दिच्य उत्र त न्ये भक्षे भने ॥

माथ यद्वे यागम डेटी रे यागम हें म त विशि ॥ १३१॥

माल व्या वर निष यगममारे [दिन] न्या मारित्र मी यामि
भाप मौनी दे निष्ण सी में उद्वे हिन चैठ वे विमे नाल

अजगरी यत मुभाती रा भातु त वने ॥ माथ न्या मारित्र मी ॥ मैं इत्य ॥

भगत सुती सुतहर वासे भगत सब से से हे ¹³⁴ ॥ १३२॥ ¹³⁵ वावु सा भिथ सुबर वीजाम रा बेवा पादे उर मनब भिथ तु हरीजवाबु ती दी दुने बुक्ता है ॥ १३३॥

गुर्वे वर मिसे उत्र सत सत् गुर्वे तु भग्धे ॥ साथ ग्रेंस भारिष मी ॥ सेंड दाव॥

ढ़ नी ए में डु भेग ते वने मन मग नेग तेन ते 18 ॥ जानू ਉम ਦ तेंस ते किन नानू वर ते हैं ॥ १३४॥

गृनु का मिथ ऐस-य्रेम सुमाउ-त्रम् रिष्ट मारे उर भिथ दामी ¹³⁷ दारे छैस टी ट्या बनत ॥ भाउे एनर गाम गृनु वे तारे ॥ छैस रे युक्ते रिदे भाषदा त रिदे ॥ भिथ तु उगित्रभा वनत ॥ भायते यित्र छ सादत ॥ गृनु तास गृनु युक्त प्रीटर है ॥ १३५॥

में नुवू वे मिथ कू वेटी मैवर घर गारे ॥ भारिण रा भारत गेन वेटी ॥ उरे घर मिथ नाउं मिथ रा मैवर बरा ॥ हम रा दिउ देथवे भारते यामे ॥ स्वनी नेथी वम भी ¹³⁸ घर पेस दिन पम मारने ॥ मभन्न भीनान वन रौटी ॥ मिथ री खन्नवी रा मुभानस उरे मिथ कार उ मिथ रामी दासे तास जिए वे खारि सराह उ मिथ रामी दासे तास जिए वे खारि

गुरु वर मिय मेर-भदी ॥ वश्रा ॥ रेगुरा ॥ समीउ ॥ मुल बाज़ी मा भेरे ॥ विमा खुंब भयते ॥ साम है 139 ॥ वोव भरी भर बुस म भग्ने 140 ॥ १३७॥ गुरु वा मिथ एउवा भरेउ ग्रंष मारिष नी रे याठ तु त स्कारे मिथासहरास थाम बैठ मिथारे ॥ भरव मेडी विंस सारिष मी गुवू वव माटे ॥ १३८॥ खु वा मिय याठ वनत भैठे ग्रेंघ माग्य भी रा उ मुरेउ जिन्ह से बैठे ॥ तब पिंडा सुविव] से उस प्रेरि सदे। माथ वीस मारब जी। येकी युभेमत का सात्र 141 11 83811

गुरू वर मिथ में विमे मिथ इसे तु सु वरम वर मिथी वा गुग्भित रा भियरेम वने ॥ उा मिय हू वने ॥ मैन हू त वरे 142 || यर रिगड़ रा हैपरेस वरे ।। बहु भाप डी बमारे ।। में हम रू रिंड नेहैं॥ माथ ग्रंस मांग्य भी॥ ॥ है। है भिर्ध म्हा भूते हैं निर्देश

गेर मास ॥ िप्यमे अत यु बेचे भयता याहै भरत ती दारे 144 ॥ चेन मास ॥

भरत हैपरेमें भार म बरे। भार्ड मार्ड मार्स स्ते भेरे ॥ १४०॥

ग्रह के मिथ ग्रंम मारिष भी ए पद वे बेन पाहर छमे। उर मियारी री सिय यद वे त्रय यदे महिव हैयत बेग भारे बेडी हटी तरीस 146 11 289 11

रावृ वा मिथ वावम ववरा दमउ वहरा यादरा 11 286 11 व्रिटी व्याप ११५ विकिटारे विकिटारे

मुन का मिथ भर रा दिसार र बने। रेवाने डे रनमें ॥ माथ मंदा मारिष मी ॥

यत यट डेन तरी विमाम इ मरा दिस्पर 148 ॥१४३॥ वन् वे निय ज़िम दामी दिस यी में उस में यन मिस ए उदे ॥ ६ से रिव असमात गुरू वा यग्भार

।। हार भग्ना भारत गारमा वारिया विस भागम राहे।। भारे मिष टी टएस बनती उत्ते भन्ने ॥ १४४॥ गृरु वर मिभ वेभा रे उंबार विन मिभी त गदारे॥ लेग माग्र री तिमाती मिसी री जैत ॥ मिसी भरित ारे ॥ मास वाम मण्य मी ॥ तात्रव में दिस स्थ निर में यग यग भारे मड रेरि 149 11 11 20 11 यंग रूउ भुंड युठा डे बेम नारे देना दुउ रे 150 ॥ 10 414 11 चेम व वि चैं चुरु दे में 3 युद्ध <u>स</u>प राष्टी 151 ॥ 11 714 11 म त्रभ भाषि वेम वार यटवे उर्ह सुस रेट दारिवा 152 ॥ 11 ALLE 11 राम वे चनत वेम मंग इन्ने 153 ॥ 43 774 11 वेम नहीं नैमे थाम वा पुरु

13 774 11

बादै छाचे वेम वन बादें थनद मंदाति ¹⁵⁵ ॥ पाउमारी १० ॥

यम वेस यने म भिन्ने जीन दिष्णाने 156 ॥ १८५॥ मिसी सामा री ॥ गगग सघर री ॥ यगग दामी री ॥ एस मंगउ रा ॥ घीन यग्भ रा ॥ घीषाव मुवभाउ रा ॥ विवउ प्रम सी ॥ ग्रंभाग मंड रा ॥ दग्य यंउ रा ॥ बावा धुवष र ॥ तम रेवा र ॥ यन डेवा र ॥ थुना मुनू दी इते ममत्र वी ॥ माभ यंत्र री ॥ सुम बेरी मिभी री ॥ मेंडा टिंग्स से ॥ सीनी घरत ही ¹⁵⁷ ॥त्सन त्येत से ॥ उसार्ष भासी ए॥ इन यनरान ए ॥ मुमीं उसी तान ए॥ तान बुस री ॥ गठरा उस्र रा ॥ भतेरा उस्म रा ॥ मर् वा उस्म गृबू वा उाटा ॥ मेरवी मिसी री ॥ भागिमा विदेष मारिष

त्री री ॥ रीराग स्पासमे रा ॥ ताग्रारा जित्रम रा ॥ शिस्तरण सेमा रा ॥ डिमागार देमा रा ॥ डिमागार है सागारा रा ॥ दिन रा ॥ दिन रा मेरा श्री मारा रा ॥ विजित्र विशे ॥ विषेत्र स्तरि रा ॥ मेरा भिष रो ॥ विष्य ग्राण्य या ॥ स्त्री ग्राण्य ग्री ॥ यह सेंग्र रा ॥ ग्री रा वेर रा ॥ विजय ही ॥ यह मेंग्र रा ॥ ग्री स्तरा ग्री रा ॥ विजय ही ॥ व्या ही भिरानि रा ॥ दें उ स्पारा ग्री रा ॥ विजय हो ॥ विजय ॥ विजय हो ॥ विज

नु वा मिय नुनम्यी भयना भएष बने ॥ शैन रेठ त भारत ॥ युर्जाभा ता स्ते ॥ १४७॥

न्तृ वा भिष तेना मस दिन ता ता है ॥ १४८॥ मुट्ट वा भिष भाटी वेठ बने ॥ १४९॥

ग्रह या मिथ पाउँ हैठ वे मुनग रू तममाउँ भाभ वे निया रू दारिजार ती वी दाउँ स्तारे ॥१५०॥

गृतु वर मिथ तरे चेर चते तू तभमने आप वे मिथा तु राप्तातु मी वी ढडे घुकारे ॥१४१॥

न्तृ वा निष िष्टे में कू हेम क सना है। १५२॥ में नृतृ वा निष भाषकी स्वयंत्र द्वीत कार सीनेना में मर्जम् नृहा भीभुत्र दक्त जैटि वे दक्षेना ॥ १५३॥

में रिए टरे भड़े मिता यीउ वहेगा महेम्ह ॥ माथ ग्रंष मार्ग्य भी ॥

ष्या चरी में डवे ता ग्रह त हैपवाव 160 ॥ १५४॥ टिंग में षचत षीचाव वववे मिया री यवनी तास भागिमा ग्रह वी तास सिये भेत ॥ में मिया तू भाये जैत॥ मगड तू तरी भाये ॥ १४५॥ चेव िरता डे मिस्टारि में ग्रवभड - विश्व रही चेहे 161 मिया री दीचाव तास ॥ मेरी ग्रह वा मिया सभारे ॥ असे ववसे ता रसे ॥ १५६॥ चेत्र में युगर प्रथम भी बलमुना दिन भिष्ठान किया नै भागिया मी अवास प्रथम भी ची तारित न्व जिनिनिने मेंडी डेना चेना चे यारी डिम चे थन पेंडने जेरिट हैंडने ॥ जेस देंड पनमंड मुभेन हैंपने डप बन्चे भारे ॥ न्व डेना भागचन भी चे थन मुंड ज़िट मारोगे ॥ यदारा तनान दिसे मेंभेड १७१८ भागा चे भजीते ॥ विस्मार यस विख् मंडभी ॥ निद्दान यस तिहाइ यिनन नाड निज्दी ॥ १५७॥

उठा डे सर् रेम चे लारे ॥ रामीण रारे मण्ड ॥
धन्मभी ग्रेंप मिंथ विकार ॥ मेंसे १७२१ ॥ मण्ड
एक्षिण क्रारारे ॥ हेटी हाफ हेटी उनरान ॥ डीन वसात ॥
तिन तरा हुवी दिने ॥ तरा है जैन भेडा माम्य भरमण
थीण भेडा माम्ये तरा टिनिसिर मण्ड ॥ मेंसे १७२४
राम ग्रेंप मिंथ पामे गुन्भभी भभन भने टाविण
भमना रे भिनम जेरे १०० मेंसे १०२६ वारी वि्षा
राम म्रामत मिंथ पामे दानमी १० भसना रे मिनिस
राम म्रामत मिंथ पामे दानमी भिस्त मी मीरीपत पामे
रिसम् पामे दिसम् पामे दिसम भागे ॥

मंभ3 162 र िष्णागु क्री अं भड़े हेरी राम पंडे वस एका बतते ित अ तासे औन वसात षट्च षाव पर दूस एका से जी हे रेसी हे अतासे िमस तु रेमी रेमी टेनिण में व्यक्तिम्ती माही नहीं भारते हैं से नारि है अपारी हैं। अपते में मतवंपी माव आगे में ड्रांचा है मारि हनी गारी हैं। मारिष नानू डेना क्रांसन मी रिस्ती नहें। मुकाब मुभाम वन मने जिरु आहे। १५४॥

देन हुनी देनी ड्रन्य में मरे॥ मणीष म नारे॥ पद्मरा वन नारे॥ ड्रन्य मु भड़े हमटा मु ष्ठे वन भागता॥ 164 ड्रन्य री नद्भ पटरी॥ में हमटा रे बने सने मिलाष्ट्र मनीडा॥ मणीष नारुवे 165 भापरा भाप पवद्मारिका 166॥ मड़ी राम डे भड़ी राम रीराम घूगभम मिस ट्रि ताल यस । मा विषय वहें या हवा धेर मिशा ॥ हिंग रहें वाहें वाहें मिल टाउस समरे वाहें यमारि पार्टी री ॥ हिसी वाहें 167 रहिंद मिता में दें हित महाम मामाल सिव से मीम हिंदा ॥ में में अ १७३२ मथा विषय से से प्रमाण सिव हों से उन्नव भाषि भाषा ॥ तारें हित प्रामाण ॥ में मीम हिसी मिम्यारी ॥ मीम माणिम भारी मिथ में भार परिभा ॥ उप माणिम मीम से से वामाल तारी हिला भारें में वामाल तारी ॥ मीम खाला तारा परा परा है वामाल है वामाल परा है वामाल परा है वामाल है

ठीवन ढेन रिलीम मिन थुंड यन वीपे थि भगत ॥ डेन चगरन मी ब्रिंग वनी त वितर्ने भगीत ॥१६०॥ डेन घगरन वे चलुंड डिएर्ड जनाउ वे मेंव॥ ਹੈ ਹੈ ਹੈ मड जन डिएर्ड मैं तै तै मनलेव 169॥१६९॥

छंरत तास मीम र मिमवान वीउं। । इन्त रेणां मिभा विउते मिभा तास वीभा भारे ॥ ती मने पारित्रमान रिष्ट मिभा विउते मिभा तास वीभा भारे ॥ ती मने पारित्रमान रिष्ट मिभा विन्न हि इन रीहात भाने नमेरी है ॥ मारिव में वे समारि भारे भारे में सुन्भ वेन स्मारित हिन् वनरे नो ॥ तास मुन्न वे ति ॥ कि इन भामा के भारी मिभ भित्र मुवा ने है । विन रिष्ट सिमा कू उन नारे ॥ देन रिष्ट भारी पदी जीव मारिव क्रिया के नो ॥ १६४॥

देव इकत रेरिण मिस मिस उग भमावे इग्उ भारे॥ मी मचे थाउमाग मा बेसस रेरे॥ मा दिव वारे॥ तीमाती उग विसे तु तारी मिसी री में वेरी मिस मारी वरे॥ १६५॥

उ ब्रेंप मास बनम जेरिण ॥ भैमी निमामी खुरावा ने जमान दिन मिस सर्जेंड रिहे हमें माजी ॥ रिज बनम ब्रीज वे माजिब व्रिण ऐपीन बैठे ॥ मीउरे रिम मनीन रे एस भारि यगुंडे ॥ मड़े नसारि वे जनम उन दिनि सारिवे ॥ जीनमा डेने ॥ १६६ ॥

डेन रित नान३ पुनात ¹⁷¹ री वद्या रेसी राम 433

सतर का ॥ मामर् बिड ॥ में बन्भ भागे मुं बीडे ॥ भाम मार्ड बीडी भी मुंग्भ बेंग मता बीडा ॥ १६७॥ उर मार्ग भंदे भड़े भिस कर बे भाउर मार्ग मार्ग भराउर सामा कारे ॥ में ताडी बीडी है ते ॥ ग्रीम तिर्म मार्ग म

उ भाउं ती घर वीउं ॥ बेट वार्वस्पतः डी शिराण रुजिरे ॥ उ रेड् रुड्टे मंभउ १७३३ माणिब रेटी एम यामे मभ मारिड युढ्डे मुख्य सुमेर भड़े भिस्प ती मालाजि तारिस साराभारी सी मीती बैठे ॥ १६९॥

खर्म जेरिका हिच्छा मिया हू मरे ॥ उर मारिच र्रेट ते यग्म र्रेट रेत्रे फारिट जामन जेरे ॥ वर्गत जेका में वैभ ख़ुबू वर मभारेते ॥ रिक्ता फारियार गानिच किरान याहू रेडी यज्ञ करी ॥ १७०॥

म्बर्ग रेणा उमाडे हहे जभेमा बाबू वे बंभ दिव वरे तैर ॥ रवया भरु ¹⁷³ डे जीवा तेर घ्राभट हिम्ब मिस माउदी पाडिमाजी वंभ दिच वरे जैत ॥ माडी राम भाडे भडी राम घ्राभट हिम्ब मिस भाउदी भाडे तारी पाडिमाजी वंभ दिच वरे जैत ॥ भाडे तारा बाबू वे तिबे ॥ इमी विष्ठ तमरे रें ॥ वंभ सभारें ॥ १७१॥

सप्य गंभ मिथ रू बचत रेण ॥ मिनेपष्ट िक्षणि ॥ रिस्मिर सम्बद्ध स्वाधिक केर रू रेण ॥ १७२॥

समारे डेमेसारे रा मिन्याष्ट्री प्रमा ग्रेट हूँ ग्रेण ॥ दिए विभ गमन ग्रेट ॥ उर समेरा हू ग्रूस्तारे किस भिक्ते ॥ असेर मंगडा हरू टुने ॥ भड़े स्पिष्ट समड् यमद्रे ॥ भड़े ग्रूसात ताटन री येदी मिस के भारिका ॥ १७३॥

रिज ਹੋਰ ਕਥੀ ਸਹੀ ਸੁਣਨੋ ਛੜੀ "ਨਾਲੇ ਕਥਾ ਦੇਵੀ ਦਾਸ ਕਰੇ ॥ में मुही हे ॥ ਨਾਲੇ ਸਿਕਾਰ ਖੇਡੀ है ॥ ਨਾਲੇ ਥਾਂਕ यट येडी है ॥ मैं भंड १७३४ नाथ जयती वमता डे ਉकारिका ॥ मूरी जासा दिमडाँड देकारी ¹⁷⁴ ॥ व्रस्ताहे निय दक्षि किसे ॥ में सिस्मारी मिस उँहै में उन्त णाहै ॥१०॥

मंभउ १७३५ भयन मुरी पंचभी नुनू डेना मारारन मी वा मप ¹⁷⁵ वी 3ी घड़ा मना पुन्च जिस्मा ॥ घाटी रा छुना उरा नते ॥ रिव म्या मी सम्पर्ट् सामन मिराण ॥ हुना म्या मी ¹⁷⁶ [भी छुड़ान ¹⁷⁷ सीसा रा पिटाण ॥ भड़े नुय जैम सन नामे ढड़े सात सास ॥ १७५॥

भड़े वव अवस्व मियनी संडी चीव सक रे येड्रे थाम णरमी बेनिभा ॥ ने भारि ग्रंष सारिष नी भमाने बेने ॥ रिक्ता नषाष रिउए ॥ उर मियनी सेंस्टी भाषि बेनिभा ने इमी बी जुवू ने ¹⁷⁸ नेत षड़ारि का ॥ प्रकार नेभा हैना भाड़े भमा हिता ने ॥ бतु वरे रेरे नैत ॥ १७६॥

मंभ3 १७३७ ढडे मण तक ॥ मुस्र भिष्ण ढडे पारी ॥ मृष् वामिणां मृवृ उरे ॥ घडे घडे मुप उरे मण्यमारे छी बंभ भारे ॥ मिथ घटु स्त्र खे घडे भथा है जिर छो ॥ मंभ3 १७४८ रिव थडवाटी वृथ वैंव मवीट टी ¹⁷⁹ ॥ भेले दिमाशी हे लाउँ तारिल मंगिड हे भारी ॥ हमते माणिष ताल घडा हस बीभा ॥ यव थेम त गिष्ण ॥ हम हे यवदारि चीवड़ है चाव उरे मंभ3 १७43 डारे मुरी भाराभी डाँग थारिया ॥ १००॥

देन मग्रम युनत युन्ध नी येष रहने तथे द्वत ॥ मंभेड १७५५ मार्ने रित मडहे नेमां टी थग्रस ए ध्रम नीउग इसत ग्रेण स्थे मिथ नटेने रिस्स थाटी थग्री से से भाष्ट्र ॥ में से भारिण ॥ घसत ग्रेण ग्रम न्नर भिन्द ने हिस देन भड़े यंत्र मूसे यह ॥ १७८॥

राम उँप मिथ पद्मे खना ¹⁸¹ उग रीहात माणिष चैर ते घेतडी बीडी ॥ ती मचे पाडिमाण ने हिच पडामे पष्टुत उग नम जहा जैहै ॥ घचत जैमा पनभ चैरा हिच पडामे भारि पार्डु ॥ उग बटेंना डियान बनवे राम देन मारिष भएती गर्सी िएसमे थाग्रस स्था मिथ कू शिनी 184 ॥ भने घर बीडा घेसे दाग्रा हुन ती वा भासमा बाग्रा हुन की वी ढडे ॥ भने गान मिस थाम नानीष नेन भागे॥ बीज ग्रम में इ वे हिंद सरे गेरे ॥ मेनी ग्रमी हिंता कू थिदारी ॥ घर रोभा उत्रसा सार्ष दिते थामें 185 ॥ योग भिया ग्री मिथा मेदा मिथा मेदा मिथा ॥ थिता दित भेग्रा योन मिसा वेमाया नी मिथा घटे ॥ १८९॥

्रेन रित्र ਹੋਰ मिस उस नेत्र सर्देंडे ॥ घरत रेण ने अद्गार स्मारि बन्दे येन मिथा यामे येन महसे यदा वे अभितुड हवारि छैठा ॥

रोच यगदात येंच य्यात 186 ॥
शोता त्रिमा दिन तिग्छ से यागुर हेटी ॥ मुनु सा निया
समता ॥ मिना दिन तिग्छ से यागुर हेटी ॥ मुनु सा निया
समता ॥ मिना हिम हिम येंडी निया
सेमपानी नेरे ॥ जीने हित मठ 188 नेरे ॥ में सेमपानी नेरे
हिम रा मागिष घडा मात द्यारत ॥ में ममड़ ष्रेत भारे
हिम रा घडा मात समता ॥ भाड़े निमम रे चिग्ने हुडे मसभ

न्म रोण ने मिथा मेरी रै ने समउ वसे ॥ भैमी नुनि वन मारिष पंच तसेद हने ॥ तिमाती मिसी री वेम भिक्षे ॥ ने वै्प ताल घरत वीउा मी में यूग वीउा ॥ १८३॥ मैभ3 १७४४ वर्स ढगा ठेसा 189 रा भेसा मी ॥ में अमेर प्रवास पर बेंदी उरी ॥ ब्रह्म हम3 क्रयारी वेडे भमेर ते ॥ अंडे व्हे मबे ॥ ड्रें सेती स्वात दिव मर बेने म भारे ॥ भारे वह ते मारे भारे भारे मारी भारे के स्मारि से नाष्ट्र ॥ उर बी मर भमी ॥ मारिष थारि एते स्मारि ॥ ज्वम उभा नारे मारी ॥ मारिष थारि एते स्मारि ॥ ज्वम उभा नारे मारी ॥ यव किमारि ॥ वह मते बहु यव मारे मारे ॥ १८४ ॥ भारे मारे वीष मारिष नी ॥

तामित अमभे वने बन बनी दिन मैनड जांरित पारि॥ हम् नहारे जापरा भने भृति पारा अपिर ¹⁹¹॥१६५॥ घनत नेणा पनभ नेरा मिसा तू किसे॥ में भमेर भमेरीरे पद्मीरे तू तानी संतरा॥ में बह जांम न्नानू वे तिरिभाउ री नेरे में जाप ही जारही॥ भड़े नवीजान बंत वे जारहा ॥१८६॥

उग रीहात मागिष चैर भवराम बीडी ॥ मरे थाउमार इै भेल भथते मबे में भवों जी तिबक्षे जैमात ॥ उर दिए डी तिबसे ॥ ष्ट्र जेमा ॥ रेता चित्रा हे मेहब डी तिबसे ॥ १८७॥

मनत रोण टीहात ती मिथि[] तूं किथरा वान नेट रा एवसताहा संभ3 १७५५ रा भेतरा ॥ भेदरा नुनू वा भतरा ॥ भमेर तरी भतरा ॥ मम्यू नथरे ॥ १८८॥

में ममञ्चानी मिथ बैमा गैरें ॥ ताले रा नड़ी गैरे ॥
टिस्त रा मथ है ¹⁹² ॥ ममञ् रा दिमागू त बने ॥ बारे बैठा हुने मिथ हू ममञ् रे बे खद्मा बने ॥ हुउ रमभत रेथे
हैठ थदा गैरें ॥ मेंच बनत बैठे उा जी मुनेउ बैठे ॥ हुंपा
त गैरे ॥ मैमे नातरन राहे जी जुनारे है भड़े उबरा
निगरा है ॥ १८६॥

समञ्चानी मिथा वह हिन थिठ हे है तरी ॥ नीउँ नम यादै भन्नै सवयन यादै ॥ १६०॥

मुमञ्चानी मिथ गीड भवैद त मेरै ॥ छत्रे भिने तेना त मेरे ॥ थनादी बंते ॥ त्रैमे मेन भनेउ तरी नीररा ॥ १६९ ॥ ममञ्चानी मिथा तानि छैथन ममञ् त वने ॥ १६२॥ ममर्पानी मिंथ उंग्न अपरे भयती जाहता है नमें ॥ बहु
भारती [त] नमें भित्र सी बिसे हे बाग्त त उँिए ॥ १६३॥
समर्पानी मिंथ समर् हिरिण मिथरा गरे ॥ १६४॥
समर्पानी मिंथ रिमतात बग्ने मिली स्वी यारि हरे
। इंग्ने तंगा त गरे ॥ १६५॥
समर्पानी मिंथ समर्र ही युना युप हेरा गरे ॥ १६६॥

समञ्चानी मिथा समञ्जू री पुत्र खुप रेस नरे ॥ १६६॥ समञ्चानी [मिथा] समञ्ज भैछा त नये ॥ १६०॥ वेमायानी भिथा रेम यन्हेम इत्तन घपान दिन नी मुनेउ

संगे। मारु यहार रा दियागु ईपने की मंग ।। १६८।। में सेयपानी यमञ्चानी मिथा ग्रेट्टै डिम कू ग्रान रा लिया क्यु नंगा है। अपके ग्रान रा रीरान है। मक्त भन्त सिटा मारा है। गाने यरान्य नुमू है। मीद्र भूस्रिड मेरी है। में ग्रान निजरा है। १६९॥

मगीय री समी जुप हैंपन है। वेम में रात वीडे हैित। भड़े ममड़ यवदारे हैित। में राडे जुप रे। नुप सन्त 30 नम यार्त ॥ 200॥

वान मागिष पुंचत पुंचथ उठवा यामे चेग्रहा है ॥ भड़े पंष रेटा है ॥ घर धुसा हैम ॥ २०१॥

में नष्ट माणिव वान न्वणाष्टी है बैठे भागे। उरें पिछे जी ही दा भारति रोभा भी। भारता हमाथे बालित। शिंदा ता रेथी है ता बाली है। में दी हे नवाउ है नाने बाहमाण शिंत। में द्वा वनते वीडे। दामडे पंच है। नाम पंच तू हो वे वान परेंद्र पामें हैन केंद्रा है। में नानू विभा ताति इनका महेंद्र जो भारते वहें नहें हैता। २०२॥

मिंथ मिथु मेरी नै ज़े गृतू वर है न सरे ॥२०३॥ यु मेरी ज़े थिड़ा रा हैन सरे ॥ समयुपानी मिथ मिडरा मुचेड नो डिडरा चेना ॥२०४॥

रिम येष दामडे मी दागगृ वगडा यग्ध नी भाडा थिडा भग्ने घेपडी वीडी ਹै ॥ २०५ ॥ भाडमाजी १०॥ ठाच अपे मे नेग विग्व पर्मा वर्गे मिनु दिभाषि ॥

र्थंय चले उत्र नगउ भे में इभ बने मजारि 194 ॥ २०५॥ में बिउ दामडे ने थि। छे भी भवास प्रभ नी हिरा तु चरत वी उर है ॥ त्रे नगड दिस हमट घुउ दिप वर हैति॥ उँ नाग भने येग ताथ नथारी ॥ भने खेंब याथ त खने रैत गटा है ॥ यग्भ पंच यहा वन ॥ सी भवास प्रथ एग ॥ भे भयर मड़ डेरि निस्ताना ॥ यंच यत्नत दत्र वे रह सम्मा॥ मग उग डै यनभ चरा है ॥ इष्ट्रप बनत डे खें उटा है ¹⁹⁵ ॥२०॥ उग मागिय रिम थंघ दगम्डे घेमडी वीडी में । में भाउं रेही भाडे थिडा भवास यग्य ।। साथ यगीडमारी १०॥ [मम्बदास है पिङा भयाम ॥ रेषि दारित्व भाउ जयाम ॥] अर्थेत बीं रेप राप्ता रादी ॥ थिए से द संग्रेष्ट्र तर्था १३०६ ॥५०६ में भाउ पिउ महाभित्र जैरिण बेटा दिवणशी॥ भयती ववर घररा तरी ॥ भड़े थिष्ठ यड़ रेते रिवे रीत ॥ रिट तरी ॥ टिम दामडे च्यत दीउ है ॥ ते भी वर्ष प्रमित्र हुँचत है॥ डे मड त्रवद दुँड में यत है 197 ॥ २०७॥ भाडे घरत है।

जीन ज़ीत जीन दृष्टि देव जै विश्व विद्यान विद्य तारीज ॥ ज़ास डे ਉਪਜ डनंग ज़िष्टु ज़ास जी विष्टे समारीज ¹⁹⁸ ॥

उ रेरे स्वि रेरे ॥ २०८॥

में भवास युवस हत रिडा यंस वत ॥ भड़े भाडा पाम हत रेडेट हामड़े जैभ वतार वीडा ॥ प्रिसमें हेही हाम कू यहिणा ॥ में वेटी घ्राभत हैमें भाषाकू जैभ वर्गारे ॥ हम भाषिभा वातीष किहान डमा सी हरिपणा जिराम वेटी कारी ॥ बचत जेमा घ्राभत चाराते जा ॥ में वेटी घ्राभठ जैहै ॥ २०६॥

विस्तृत्व स्व िषण है ॥ में घ्रम्त यगीषण दामने त्रवा बीडा ॥ तासे भग य्मारि वसीण यस है ॥ तासे सुनी वर्षेनी ॥ में दृष्टिने दृष्टिने हैं घ्रम् तिवसे ॥ घरत जेण ॥ भने घ्रम् भंम विस्तृत्व दिश्चि है ॥ उन दिव घ्रम्त यीडाउ वसभी ने सराशिण ॥ मिर्घावन हम रा ताष्ट्री मी ॥२१०॥ हुमा हिसत थाम घ्राभा थीं बामीर्ष सराष्ट्रिण ॥ भाडे बामब राम घ्राभा घ्राभ भरहाव रसते सराष्ट्रिण ॥ तथसा माढे साउ जमाव धवन भाष्ट्रिण ॥ ष्टिता रे सरते हुस् ॥७५००॥ घ्रमत जेण प्रवस नेरा जैस र थवन मरा लिखरा माज ॥ २११॥

बामी हामा भड़े बमभीनी घेंसे ॥ ते तहामा हिचे गी प्वार बनाने ॥ भड़े युडह भाउा मी रा भारहा ॥ भियन बासवा राम रे गीय गै ॥ ११६॥

उग्लाका राम घरत की उगा में मी भगवान ॥ टेइ ने इरड नेम रा है हारिषा है डमा में की कावत है ॥ २१७॥ घर नेण रैड भमाड़े ताल दिवादी है ॥ डिता रा ताम ववता है ॥ कालवा राम विश्वा ॥ भगवान डमी टीमव री तेंडव की नेटी हैठारे ने ॥ डमी मांडे ॥ रैड रेटडे भारि ही कले भारे हैति ॥ टिए वसता है हारी ता भगातू नेवा है ॥ २१८॥

मंग्र जेल ॥ थिउ दन भमारू रिडा है ॥ में येष युगर बिन ॥ द्रम्य याय दनम सी उट्ट खेदा हू ॥ बाखदा राम भाषिभा ॥ निम इमारू दन रिडा है छुमे हू इमी भाषरे ॥ रेत्रे दन रूमा दिष्ठ यैरे वीडे भी ॥ वे छम यामे डारे भारे ॥ ४१६॥

घर नेण भमार् यंथ वरत रा विष् घरत वीडेम्॥ वासवा राम भाषिण स्तीसा भाउं॥ विसाम वरता॥ हर चारे उर दिव रभ दिच है ठरिश रेहे ॥ उमाकू जी भारिका र इस वन्ते रिभार रै ॥ उमी विहे भारका निभा सेरे रै ॥ केर हैम री नजी हैकारे रे ॥ ११०॥

म्हत रेण भमी सेरे भाध है हे ए ॥ भामाङ महत त हुन रेहे ॥ दाख्य राम भाधिण उसी घरत जी पाछ ॥ भड़े पंष जी राख्य राम भाधिण भाड़ा भारे नि हाउ प्यत रेरे ॥ दाख्य राम भाधिणा भाड़ा भारे नी ॥ रीरान छ ॥ पन रिरा निउद्दार तनती ने भामाङा पंष राखे ॥ भड़े रैडा रा हुल थरे ॥ रिम दिस पंष जी उमाङा प्रिय रेमी ॥ भड़े नाम जी रेमी ॥ घड़ में हिता रा धीर रेरिणा ॥ पन पापा रा हमेना नाम दिसि है ॥ है मामाष नामा पनम है उमा वना रेमी ॥ पंष रे मुमास पंष पड़ि तनरे रैति ॥ १२१॥

माणिष देव उमारी ने वाष्टे ॥ वास्त्रव राम भाषिणा भेर त बवे ॥ थाथा तू वाष्टी ठाउव रेने ॥ देव माणिष थुम्रेत ने वे षिसे ॥ ष्टात नेणा भमा थंस रे डावा चाव वीने नेत ॥१॥ रिव रीरावी ॥२॥ रूने युवने ॥३॥ नीने भाष्ट्रवी ॥४॥ ग्रैंसे युनीर ॥ में थाथा तू भाष्ट्रवी थंस दिस्व ठानंति रिजी ॥२३२॥

रिंग बचत मुह बन भग्भ विष्णास मिथा नी ॥ टीहात माणिब चेंद्र ॥ यनगतची यनभ चेंद्र ॥ बैंन मिथा चेंद्र ॥ चाने एव मेंद्र बे हुँठ थर्सेंडे ॥ भाषाभा नी सचे पाडिमार ॥ टीरानी बेंग्रे जैत ॥ भडे सुबडे बहुट जैति ॥ भडे भाष्ट्रियी बितु भाषीरे ॥ भडे सुनीर बहुट नाही भति ॥ २२३॥

मगत गेण रीरागी हेरी जैत ॥ जे उह लमाडे तास पाम जैत ॥ न्य दिन मतभस जेरे जैत ॥ यगमान यउ पी माब वमीसा रेम दउत् हउ वे लमाडे पाम निज्य ॥ मुप बगते मतभस जे वे ॥ लपते नृतृ लगे में रिषे धिषे माडे तारिस जैत ॥ २२४॥

भड़े स्वड़े ६५ ने सदावे दी डिगा र्यं ए दिए दामड़े मिभी रे नुप वनत्वे ॥ मीम रेत्रवे मिभी वस्तिवे ॥ भाषिण रेतिवे मिभी वस्तवे ॥ मिभ रे मैंबट वटतवे ॥ में सुवरिं हू युग्परि निमित्र ॥ २२५॥

ष्ट्रेम हे पिह्ने स्पिट्सी जेमित्र ॥ ष्ट्रिम सिक्ष हे उप बन्नर भीम हेहे त्रव्ये इव्य ए ष्ट्र सीत जे मुग्मी ॥ स्पिट्सी भीरे जेत्रतो ॥ में विजित्र निस्पी ६ बेरियुना ए इव्उत्रतो ॥ भापते सुवाष्ट्र दिस् ॥ २१६॥

भड़े सुनीर देरी रिवसे, पंच रिच नेमत ॥ ने या बुह एरिड कव दी मात्रहवी ॥ १२७॥

हिउ चनत दी विश्व सार्गिष्ठ वास्त्र राम दिस विभाग वीउः ॥ वास्त्र राम भाभिण ॥ भगगात्र दमट रहा है ॥ भाउः रे मर्ट् दिनि ॥ चन्ट रोभ मिण्टः ॥ वर्गे ॥ भगगात चासी दित च्र ॥ हिप्याम ॥ भामत भडेस ॥ भन्स विभाग॥ एउम्मत डेन मगगात ॥ चनत रोभा स्यागाते ॥ २१९॥

भगगम भगदाती सवडा ॥ जैभातव हुप रीराग रेत्रगीभा ॥ भतुभ री सभगदा त्रजी में सगने ॥ श्वर रोभा ॥ सिंड ॥ २१९॥

ढे[ग] बाखब राम बिजा हिम्मात बर्गे ॥ मिन्गी मड भंगाष्ट्र ॥ पग्भ ग्रेंट् मारिस मिन्ने से बे मड़े बिद्ध भाषि हिबड़ बीडा ॥ २३०॥

राम भाने वसे ॥ संजे यहे जिस रेते वरे नहे ॥ भाउ मी भाउनि निभाम जिस नहे ॥ २३१॥

उग बग्लव राम छठत स्मिष्ट वे रेते घूठभत मुग्नेउ वीडे ॥ दिसत थास भाषिभा भाउग त्री भारे ॥ उसी बासब राम भाषिभा विसे नारे माउँ ॥ स्मिष्ट थमउब भभवा रिमडेड् यद्धे ॥ हैता रे यद्यते वन जीव स्नुना भारे॥२३३॥

वास्त्र रोम विशेषा मारिस तु ॥ भगवात्र में उमी मीम रेरे उग भें मीम लहारि छैरा ॥ भाडे भें मीम रेरा उग भेवा विसे त्रजी मी लाइ रूग ॥ भाडे में बेट त रेरीरी उग दवरा मवाप जिर मारा ॥ दिवाण रामश्रा बेट त वसती ॥ रेज रेवी त्रजी ॥ यव भगउग मी यमत मियाने ॥ समत जिला स्ति जै यह मैं यह है ॥ १३४॥

मभ3 १७५६ भग्डा भी तैता रेट्टी रे जमवात उस सीडा ॥ २३५॥

मनष्ड ष्णभर हू एसर एमावा रेवे दिरिणा बीउा ॥ गेन मनष्ड नामी गेरे ॥ रिव रेदी रामु बिण दाका में येन रा भाग में के सारि भागिश्या ॥ हिंगु निम निग ॥ बमभीनी यंद्रित नी दिरिणा गेरिणा ॥ बामी दाका यंद्रित दिसक याम नी दिनिणा ॥ षड़ी भागिशा रिती ॥ नामी युमंक गेरे दने ॥ भाते बामुब राम नी ट्रिया में किरवाम मी ॥ ममक गेणा यनम चरा मनष्ठ नामी गेरे ॥ विभा नानीष किराम तेने बीते ॥ रिव रेदी राम नुका ने ॥ २३६॥

द्यारे कास नेंद्र लेट किगसी वीयधाब रा॥ रथरा एपपे मुद्र ॥ रे डेनिमण ॥ भाउे घरत वीउ ॥ युम मुखरात 1) है। निमा हैपन रेही सी निया ने है। मड़े दिसिंग बन भंपनत उत्ति ॥ डिर सी में यनती ॥ इसत म्या म्या मी ॥ याँडउ हेर्सा पेकाण त इन्नि हीरा। ॥ भत्र बर्ष भड़ी हे सस्ति भारिक में साथा 201 ॥ २३६॥ ग्रंप मारिव री माथ वरूत जेण । १९७ यूना नेवा देमे व्यापत रीते। म्रुभटा मेंग हियावं म्रुभ यहभ मि युग्हीय 202 11811 नीमा ज्रमि डिम सीभा में मेहत रव भूजीभा 203 ॥२॥ भगर डेंगमा शमा हो मिस् साम संगित सम्मा ॥ गण्डे ताम ॥ मुंदी ॥ कि राष्ट्र ॥ ०४०॥ रह तो विश्व विश्व विश्व विश्व भारत राष्ट्र ॥ ग़प मिडे Erz वे यूमारि [Ersी वे यूमारि म राज वरे 11 गय गहुय टरै हितरी वे यूमारि] हितरी वर्ने विय द्भित्र याभ उते ॥ रिक्र में वे एमारि म बिरिण छप्टी केरी वी वि्थ मड मर् यमे ॥

रितरी की किए वे मने उभ मैं तरी सेमे गरी म वर्वेग भने 204 11 28811

रेटा राम वेषवे थंद्रेडा मी ॥ यदात जेणा रेट्डा ने ९४० एवन ९४० मधुवत ववदारिषणा ॥ डा रेडे रात ड्रमानू मवयड य्राभरा तु रिडे ॥ २४२॥

उ रेही राम विराण भगगम भमी भी नाय रे यिन रे । । इस्म गण उमी भी सुर्ष ॥ १॥ मागिष मी मैंसा है सिमा ॥ मेह वनी रिक्रों वी भारति महिन की मेंद मुगाउ के मीके ॥ राक रीचे रिक्री वे असे मामवे राक के साम महिन वेने सा दीवे ॥ माने दस में रिक्री वे री रे मन में मम महिन वेने सा दीवे ॥ में ग्रि डे उक्त डे पक डे मिन से मान मी रिक्रे 205 ॥ २४३॥ मर मागिष रिच बचक वी अप में माने में समा बढ़ म्यम भीम रा रेडा घर कि की भाग में भागे मुक्त वने ॥ यन में हिम रे भीरति ग्रामानी में मागिष वित्र मुकारी ॥ २४४॥

चटपटारि चिउ में मिनसे दिल मिष्ठ सुपउ जैटि॥ चेन वेन ने जेडि लिता रचे भियव न वेटि 206 ॥ २४५॥ भिमन रीभा भांम दुन्दि भागिष्टणा ॥ समूह जेमा ॥ रेहडा इमी इंग्मार जे भया भाग थहा है ॥ रेही राम चनती संगा। में भेमे मउत वि वे यं वी वी र र रागु । गुनू वे मिस कू सेमक रंगी है ॥ विग्रं निषेव मघर घीराव भीड मिसी सभारे 1128611

मिस रू टिए का रिरिए के एडिया भाभ दिवान चिउरे ॥ मण्य ग्रंष मगीउघ जी ॥

ज्य यनिष्टभा मामया हैम सुन हैम नारि ²⁰¹ ॥

जैन मार्थ ॥

पर्राद्रमा राष्ट्र त्रारी मेरी उग्हा नीभी। मित्र युद्धि जिनी प्रसम् हिंदू बढ स्मीमी 208 ॥२४७॥ रिम दामने मारिष भाषरा धंय समाग ममूद पी सार दिने तर बीउ है ॥ मैमे पंतरे माभे षारी मर वी3ी ॥ त्रे यीते जी बाटी छगत वंगत ॥ पूर्वी हे र युर् भिगगदात्र वदीया रेणा ॥ २४८॥

चनर नेण अपटी नागराम डेनीण नमरा हैपन नानू है।। ^{हे} षाठी री भूमारा वीव ॥ उा डारी मुगराम मेंष मारिष ती सी दी द्वी वापी भारि ॥ डैसे प्टेंग पंप तृर वींग है। छिंदू समसमार से जासी दिस हिर दिस । यमा स पारि हिंडिया है ॥ त गरे त तिवसे दिन गड़वे ॥२४६॥ गुरू वर मिथ मम ३ हैटा दु उस भारती त नरे।

मग्ध छेंग री वह जमते 209 ॥२५०॥ में गृह वे मिथ मिरवदात यीउदात ॥ मंउर गृह ये थंप दिनि रेमीर ॥ यन दिन है मेरे ॥ मैसे सारिष च्छत सीउ है ॥ रेउन ॥ वह उस यम्ब यस्ट चिउ सेथे सुसु भीठ ॥

ग्ट उडे या मी गरे 3 तम दिनसे जीठ ²¹⁰ ॥२५१॥ उैर माधु ग्रेष मारिष्ठ मी ॥

ौत रिवले ताजी *यते हैस ढव*ड़ संसाव ²¹¹ ॥ में मुन का मिष संभाग रे दैस दनती हैवानी दिस त यह 212 1 मंमान रास यूनी दिसे री यूरी राजी ॥ त मंडा री त भिष्ठाम री ॥ साथ मेंब सारिष्य ॥

बगउं डे संसाठीण नेंड बरे र जारिण ²¹³ ॥ २५२॥ मारिय परिषे भिरा तारि ॥ उन्ने धुरी हेभरादार दिस देडा भागवा किरारिया ॥ भासत सती उप मिर वे मुर् उसार रे यानि जेनर वनरा नै ॥ भाने स्टाम जेन रू अउनर में ॥ दिन तरी भादरा ॥ ता स्पार्य संगीभा अचैनीण भाडे नेटीण उग्टी खासे उसात रे थीन री रेहे मचेंद्र वे रिया रीमा उग युत्रीत मारी हिते ॥ २५३॥

मारिष एमें मामे मास ईमा बेडा माठवा वीउ उषाभी षठ वे ॥ यारे योरे छेरे छाट उगम उरे ॥ णयत सतो नेसव चत्र उस भमातू भयी दीं है रेग ॥ डेग इंड डी भमाडे रास भयु छ्यारि गरिभा है। दृरि यट गरन रे पुत्र सहे ॥ रिव यट समसमात सहे ॥ देन पूत्री ुभ क्र मियात मिय उनरे भायत नानी व तिसान उनव उनरे ीत हींंं रेरे ॥ सारिष भंरव दृद्ध से विभात सीउः ॥ उर भग्र बीउ यग्य रखें भे त्रिवास वह है ॥ अ मारिष भाषाय रि.उं ॥ भिथा तू घरत रोणा उसी वीगउत वर्ने ॥ गम बहे भाडे वीगडमीरे ठरीजे ॥ २५४॥

ढेव डीमे नामे गाम धड़ीण वी भीवस वीडा ॥ भने भनी मनीत रे निरिर्दास दिस बेसी भा सती वर्गत ॥ भायर रेसे बारी यारी चेंरा चेंरा मुंह बढ़ बैठा है।। ोंगा रे माय रिसे विसे बची रा युर भन निण भी ॥ ि मरी वेरे बीवते बने ॥ ४३१ मने छम ता भायत सनी ोरी दि है है ॥ रिसे रिव मुट्ट है हु सरे मीहारा है ॥ है हम कू चेभद्र वे भाय ॥ भमी बी भाया ने देन यह

त्रीदारि हेमी ॥ ता माठिय हैम नाठ भारे ६० वृद्धी भाउनी उँटी हैठ चभदी ॥ थड़ी सने ठठ सम्र ॥ ती भिग्नदात ड्रमी मुनू जे डा मीदारि हेजे ॥ माठिय धैन तास ठेसन हैठारिया ॥ यगत जेया ग्राप्टी मुनू से नात दिन भाउग थिउा भने बेटा त भनेमा ॥ भड़े वियदात बजेनी ॥ बाटी बनम नात निजा ॥ में भैसे जी जेटी ॥ २५५॥

ढेन चैंबे नामे तास मागीण यड़ीण ब्रुसारी नेनी ॥ मागिष त सरी ॥ दुत वेडा मानवा हुठारिणा ॥ मागिष रेगि डिणानी ॥ रेग यड़ीण रूमरा रे दुपवान॥२५६

िन एंतरे पांडमारी नाभे नामित मारी लड़ेंग।।
दिन्णारी रेरे ॥ उनका रे णारभी भारे ॥ मारिष लड़ेंग
वारे ॥ दिरभे मारी सदी रा डिनाई मिनेपाई है वे
टिन्मा मी ॥ गर दिन मारिष री भमदानी भिमी ॥
उग भारभी उस भाभ ने निर्मा ॥ युगत युग्य कू ने
नाभराम रे तीनान कू भाष्यभाई ॥ में रेर नाभरामपुना
निनाई दिनि हिरी डा भमाने पाम हेनी ॥ हैत भारभी
उस ने वे भाषिभा ॥ सम्त रेभा ने यु ईपन मीम रै
तरी ॥ निनाई माना सुल हैरा रे मुर न्या कु भाभ
वे मारिष ने निमटा रे डेसने हिना रे मुर न्या रे॥
परीभा ने निमटा रे डेसने हिना रे मुर न्या रे॥
परीभा नास निमटा रे डेसने हिना रे मुर न्या रे॥
परीभा नास निमट ने डेसने हिना रे भूर न्या रे॥

देव नुन् जिनिष्टि राम मने उन्हें से बी बीडी ॥ चूनी दिन दिस रिस्मि ॥ एम जमान नपता रेट्स बीडा ॥ माणिष चूनी सात राजी ॥ ष्ट्र माणिष नुन् ने बहु माणिष के शे ॥ पिडा से भागी मिडा साणिष ना ने विद्या साणिष माणिष ना से माणिष माणिष माणिष माणि में भी में बीवन सार्य ॥ घर जेमा बुं साणि ॥ दिवा हे माणिषा मी में बीवन सार्य ॥ घर जेमा बुं के याणि ॥ दिवा हे ॥ बुं सार्य सार्य जी भीने निष्टिण ॥ उन माणि जेटी ॥ दिवा हे मू नुन् भागिष मी यादिया ॥ वच्म जेमा मन भाभ ॥ हेरि डेन बंभ माणी ॥ दिवा हे भाभिण मने पाडियाण दिसी मम से में मू राजी ॥ दिवा हे भाभिण मने पाडियाण दिसी मम से में मू राम जमान नुपता रेट्स सीडा है ॥ इन्हा जेमा सीमविना

भाभी रम जनाव नेजे त जैरे ॥ भाडे ग्रावृ भावनात मगीजन नी िएमी रे इस डिठा भंती रे थारे तास भेठा भी ॥ भूठ िषिरे तीरा वर फिणा। चरत जेण वरम देउ वरते॥ भारे वेरा भीरा रेनिर वे हुयी यारि यारीम ॥ हिसे ताही भीते विपा ॥ विडादे त रावनीर्ड दून वीडा ॥ २५८॥ मवे भएते हैं नी उरे ॥ भमल मनी ह तीर रीरे अड़ी भिष्ट दिस्त्रे ॥ रिटउरा र माउर में थिउर ख़ुबू वाभ राम ॥ हे मुन्ह ॥ ४: १४ ॥ हे तलाही ई छिपलाहा मि हरीगा। जे उसे *नुवू घींच टिविया उस त्रत वी दिवाग* सी इडी मेरी ॥ उम बे मगड निर्मा मा थैनी यिषण मम दिनिडिंग डिंग सेरी ॥ ित्रम वे भुंड घ्रामंड तथमवान वनी निम वे भमउव पविणा ग्रह युवे में युवा उँथी ॥ नान की दिविणारी तिउ चर्ने महारी भयत वे त स्वेरी। मत तग्तव (जीव) ववडे भाग इति टिविण भागे येम वर्षे यु मेरी 214 ॥ २५६॥ भड़े गृतु भागमा सारिष भी रिप्सी हे ही षड़ी भार तित्री ॥ स्विति भः य॥ ष्टेव िया देवम वे गभ भागव हुं भेग गुगारी ॥ मल भीउ मीर्ड उभाग द्यांस दिस मामी जीव रवमत रेज् रिक्ष्यी ॥१॥ मुख भीउं युरी बर्र घरिंड नग्टी ॥ रिय सम डेंग अथरी ॥१॥ मण्डी॥ यार भरेदा भरित भरित येदा रिच भत् हैव रेमा ॥ मुरि भीडा गर्र डेवी सवराष्ट्री भाषिण पुंड भिरु हे हियरेमा ॥२॥ भगर र बीमें मनर पनीमें बनै मु बसा भरारी ने॥ मुल भीउ नी है थिंड युड उत्र सत री है रिष्ट रवसत जीव भी याष्ट्रीभी 215 11311

देव मारिष विगरे जैत ॥ ते ब्रह्म राउ नै में मंडा री नै ॥ रिम प्रिया तेतृ विमे रा तारी ॥ चप्रियी पष्टिती ॥ बरिषा भातवार प्रमारि मंडत वे जीव ताम नै भीठा ॥ तत तातव वर्ष काव विपा पानी मां भारत तिर्वत्र त्रीठा थें ॥ ४॥

मेंडा री भड़े गुरु री दिय है ॥ यर सिटिया बेट बीडा त रहे ॥ २६०॥

मारिष पंत्रही पाउँमारी नानु रिन्निष्टि की निधुणा दामडे मारिष में ष्ट्र मुष्ट की उत्प रे॥ मीउल रे उन्न रुपारे॥ ष्ट्रम रेणा

मेग ब्रुव वसदासा जेणा ॥

यानि विद्राप प्रज गास दे नगीसाण गिनगोर्निंद

तदा तनेणा ॥ १ [नगरि]॥

उप निर्मा प्रज भाप नादारिणा मत भी सम नगिरि।

माप मंगिरि वे मा दस पारे मिरान्न से मिस मारी॥

गस्य प्रज प्रज प्र हरे मदाने गमा न् भदार्

भटल म्हरू मग्रव हार डेरा मढछ वर समउब् यारिका ॥२॥ 217 २६१॥

देन पठार वी मुनू जीन ते बिर स्पित्र मी तारित्र बीडी कुरु जमभी जेरे ॥ टिम दामडे नीउ है परेम मिथा कू जेणा है ॥ में मीमान एय री यार है ॥ मिडनान यामें तजी दरें ॥ १६२॥

मारिष भउदे नाभे तारित चुरीण वी वीडी ॥ भिग्न छंट भोद्र भदी ते तथा वे छ्नारी वीडी ॥ ऐसे नी दिन चुरी षट्ये भीन जेटि भैठा है ॥ दृष्टि सम क्पपा दिम पाम है ॥ डमी मर्थे राषा रेषिनों उर देवे सिष्ठें ॥ मारिष म्पते दिनि तथा वे निन हैपन भारि परादे ॥ वन्त्र वीडिते विष्ठें तथा के दोनी यिएण ॥ दहें दहें मान मिर्थे भिग्न चेर तू त्रष्य पेले भनदारे ॥ वरे व्या ते मत दवीन री नुनासी वनता नै ॥ २६३॥

देन भठहे मागिष षासे मुनू रिसी नहे ॥ हते ग्राप्टी गभ गिष्ट ए ष्ट्रेपकान मुनू गीन दिस्ता भी हैमा भागना इन्त्र रे सुगू त सनाता ॥ में उन्त्र हेने भाषिण ॥ गमा ममहंउ ते बड़ी सुषी बीउी मागिष सी ॥ सीव्यान हिसि ॥ में उन्त्र मृष्टि से सीसाग मुग्या ॥ वित्र मुग्र त सनी॥ मनीन डिभाग रिडा ॥ २६४॥

देन तारे भिरास तास पीन भस हे दिनणारी उरे उन्हा भने ॥ मारिष बरे चसे मारे ॥ मुश्य मुभास दन्हे भने जेर भारे ॥ देन रूनी हानी मरे मारिष पद्गर दिन जारे ॥ नाउ तु नाउ चसे मारे मे ॥ पानी तु सिरु मड़ी राम पूर ९५० ने मिभा ॥ ९ मे ने दे उं नारी ॥ मट मिभ पस्रदादिभा हिन्न भारे ॥ ९ माउं तरी युंभ पारि रिजी ॥ राग्ना से सारि प्राचे ॥ हिन्न मिस रेप हैं भनी मेरे जेरि ने भिमन नारे ॥ मारिष भटन परे पनदे रिसी भारे ॥ दूरे नन माने ॥ मं ने मेभ जेरि नारी ॥ मारीष मीन रिजा ॥ देह्य ॥

देन मारिष युगर युग्य मी एमरे मामे तास नामे मेंगेर बन्बे प्रभ गरि गरे ॥ उनव बम्म बन्बे रीभात ग्राम गरि गरे ॥ २६७॥

III

उ हेम दग्मडे क्लप्त बीउ है ज़े मिस दिलसे हैत ॥ ज़िम तृ लुट्ट मिस बने में ज़ेर्रे ॥ में मिसी बैमी दमउ है ॥ ज़े तह ज़ामे मिसी तारित से लारे हैति ॥ भड़े लुटिणारी हेचे जी ह्य गरे जैत । २६८॥

भड़े नुह मागिष पुनत एनप भी मनीन महाभाउ उरे जी मुनिभारी री पींड िमपा रे िमन पनी हैं ॥ ष्ठत बीड़ा है ॥ में मनष मंगीड भेन भारतमा है ॥ भड़े मुन् भारतमा है॥ २६६॥ में दिस समड़े में रेरिंग डे हैंबे में परान्य मगड़ रे हैंत॥ में रिषे जी मन बेरी हड़ निभा है ॥ नाम भारत रेम ब्रंभ तमन बेर मांड नुप पुड़ पीभा तानी थन ता बेरी हैं निर्मा भड़े ता विसे रे तारित नरे ॥ २७०॥

भार ने भारि से विव न्यारी भारतारी हिंडाभाषी

रंड याभेंड में डी रिषे जी वरे ॥ २७१॥

तास दी गिष्ण ॥ रिष्ण रात उप उनत् मड् मड गरीकी मिषी मेरा ॥ रिग्स रिण तासि तिडी ॥ २७२॥ भड़े वनती भारि डे ज़े है ॥ निमात रिमात मम डिसेगिरी बनिमारी ॥ वीगड मेंडा ॥ में रूजी जगती तासे रिषे गरी तासे तासि गरी ॥ माथ ग्री माणिक जी ॥

तगत्र बभारु मीम मुसिंभा गिराण थैपा चारिणा 219 ॥२७३ हिमे छामडे माणिब युगत युग्ध मंग्रे युग्गम रिमे जी इउ गरे ॥ भाडे मिथी तगिंस है, ट्रे ॥ उग मुनू वा मिथ डी मिथी री येमता वनवे मिथी नथे ॥ मुन्युव एभागे ॥ रिष्ठा थेष में राजमुनू तिभाग वीडा है में रिम छामडे वीडा है में मिथी त मारे ॥ २७४॥

गुनु वा निथ सिमामी मिदसा ता उँदै ॥ २७५॥ गुनु वा निथ भिठा छुगस भिठा भमवन भिठा देउा ता उँदै ॥ २७६॥

गुनु वर मिथ मण्य मंगीउ ढवीन त्रास त भन्ने ॥२७७॥ गुनु वर मिथ ड्रिमत तू गासे ॥ त्रिवरभउर टी रिक्स

वरे ॥ २७८॥

भने सम्बन्ध में हाण्डाव यवज्ञारे जैत में ब्रेप ने बस बि पवज्ञारे जैत ॥ ब्रेय धिता समन् तजी यवज्ञीरा ॥ भने समन् धिता वाम तजी ॥ भने वाम धिता हैव तजी सुरीरा ॥ २७६॥ त्य रिम दामडे जेण में बेम्थ जे नारे। तारित विमे मिथ मुप् बठवे मीम त रिडा। में बेम्थारी रे बरहे मदा रूथ मीम रेटने। यन मिथ मिथी नथीत्ने।। मिथु मेरी है में नातृ वा उवसु भेते।। साथ न्य माणिष भी।

मुंचू बीजिया में बान बभाइनु ॥ मुंच बी बनती बाजे यादनु ²²⁰ ॥ १८०॥ ²²¹ भाष यादीर मन्त्र बीजा जै ॥ भेने मनुष जिते भवड ताजी ॥ भेना मन्त्र मते ²²² जे भवज जै ॥ साथ मुंस साजिम नी ॥

मित्रगृह हू सब रेयरी मेडा सब जवातु॥ डिडिज स्विति त उँदरी मिग्रु सबर त वर्गत बीग्रेग्ट ²²³ ॥ २८१॥

त्रगत भागत ॥ यट्शा तर देन गुनु द्रा मिस जैरा है डा गुनु डी रिम तू मभगत्ररा है ॥ मग्स ग्रीस भगीत्रष्ठ त्री ॥ भीत्रग्न मिस दी द्रहे युग्न मरा रिफांस ²²⁴ ॥ यद्रश मेद्रव दिह गुन मरा रिफांस ²²⁴ ॥ यद्रश मे द्रेने मित्रग्न हैत में पेस हे दामडे हेडा युग्नस्त्रम क्रिता दीडा है ॥ भड़े पेस तू माणिष भागती ममड़ दिरिणा दिनि मनेति द्राम सुने ॥

भयरी उसी डीव बतारीभित भड़े मिस तू मिसकारीरे ॥ भड़े वीउड मिसी री ६५रेम उरे ॥ भड़े चारे वानतीड रे मिससारीभित ॥ २८५॥ 225

चुम् जेरिण निम मिथ यग्में ब्रुटी उ जे जेरे डे हिंग मनब भने उस मेंद्र थे खेंदे उ हम कू घथमरा ॥ भादी कारी वनकी ॥ उक्तथारी कैरही ॥ दन ²⁰⁶ कारी वनका ॥ २८६ ॥

त्रे मिष मजनयानी जेरि वे निजने हे नेभ सजाहे में उत्रभाग्रा ।। २८७॥ में मिस युमारि दनउर जैदे भारे जैन मिसु उप यारे में उत्पारीभा ॥ [२८८] ने मिषु मनव दिस घीरात से ता बैठे मारियनारे उपा मयर वाष्ट्रसासे ²⁰¹ रे भने जिट बैठे में सुनस उत्यामिण नगत्य ॥ २८६॥ ने मिस दिश्व गुरू ग्रेष मारिष मी हे याम यूपारि मिथ अर्ष यग्ये किया है हैं। से वन्ये मंदिन गरे म्रा १३४ में उत्पार्थ प्राप्त हैं । १६०॥ वेमयानी टेपी वर्षे में उत्थारीणा ॥ २६१॥ ने मिष वेमयारी छेगेट रधे में उत्पारीण ॥ यदा नामरा ॥ रहें मेट वसे सम भरित ॥ २९२॥ [में मिस वह मोरीन सेनार नसे में यवा उत्रयाणीमा। 2 f z 11 229] प्रमारि गृत वा येति चुनारे ह्यारे छे नारे में रिखर् उत्रक्तिमा ॥ १९४॥ बमयानी काउी रे नेस समारे में उत्रकारीण 200 1128411 त्रे मिथ थुमारि दरगरा मार वे ढनव वरे ²³¹ में बार उत्थातीण ²³² ॥२६६॥ में रेमपानी राव रा वयदा 233 मिन यने में उतथारीण 112601 मेंद्रे चद्रे र्रोगत रिच मारे में जी उत्थारी भा ॥२६८॥ 234 त्रेत्रे चत्रे भूमार भाष्टे में उत्रभागीणा ॥ १९६॥ ने मिय मिय तू युमार णय ने बुस मारे मे 3/2113/W 11 300 11 में युमारि निय तू भाय वे यग्छे भाय यारि ष्रे में 35 11 808 11 My LIAVE त्रे मिय चेतो तेत भेख मिया रे खतो दिनि चेप्तेतर ਉठ मारे में उतथारीणा रेटराव ॥ ३०२॥ त्रे मिय मिया रे वेभ जैरे दिन ठाए थारे भारी बने में

3x40Jm 11 30311 ने मिथ मिथ तारित जामा यमवर्ग ठठा वर्ग वस्पारे में उत्रभारीण ॥ ३०४॥ 236 गृत् वा मिस सेवे पारे मिता वराग युमारि वरे में ॥ ४०६॥ प्रभित्रभा त्रे मिथ दामी रा निमोराव दामी विता उत वे ॥ ३०६॥ त्यितिक्षर में देगमान रतउत रामी री सप उन वेषी भरी उत्रउ वने में 300 11 JUB 11 JUBOUFERE ज़े बेमयानी सब रे बयते ²³⁸ जेठे संथे में 11 20E 11 meters में मिथ र मीर दिरवाने 239 में यव उत्रथारीण ॥३०६॥ में मिस तू उस तास द्वार भाने में यता उतसारी मा 240 ॥ 390 11 में मिस म दीनी 241 रेरे में उत्रसारीण 242 1138811 त्रे मिस री यग तू उस यारे में उत्रयाजीण ॥३१२॥ में मिस री यग है उने में यय उत्रांती भा ॥ ३१३॥ 243 में मिस मिस रिण सेम मू उस यारे में उतसारीणा।। 398 // 244 में भिष भिष हे रात्रे तु उस यारे खड़े ²⁴⁵ में 37475m mP39411 त्र भिय भिय रे थांवे भारे भवनी मदा स्वउ देंउ त मारे में तीच उत्थारी भा वर्दे। ने मिस भावसी कू यवसमासी भ नेषाष टेरे में तीच ॥ ७१६॥ प्रिटिप्सरह त्रे मिस दामी हासे बसे मिस री उेरे टग्स 26 त्र वरत में रेदमरार उत्रथाणी ॥ ३१८॥ ने मिय मिय राष्ट्र उर्वे पारी खदारी वरे में उत्रभाजीभा ॥ ३१८॥ में भवसी मिस दामडे दामी दारिष्ठण तू ट्यारे ²⁴¹ में

तीच उत्रस्मारीण ॥ ३२०॥ में यन्भमासीला धनरेमी मिथ री नीम री मुनेडी त बने में उत्रभाजीभा ॥ ३२१॥ में मिनी सारिय भी तू छेळेचे 248 में उत्पारीण ॥ ३२२॥ में मिथ री भारे थना हैउन यहे बसमारे मारी में उत्रक्षा भा ३२३॥ में मिथ वनर रेर बुसे मटे में उत्परीण ॥ उप रेरे ॥ ३२४॥ ब्नाउ रे उत्थारी रे परीरे ए एस बने में डी 3741 Jm 11 224 11 249 व्रमी वरे वर्षमारे तरी में पवा उत्थानीला ॥ ३२६॥ में मिस रू नुकु र भारिण भारे में उत्पारीण १ ३२७॥ में मिस उवराव भवाव पिके मटे ²⁵⁰ में उत्पारी मा ॥ ३२८॥ मिंठ मेरे हैपन पिहे नये उनदान री में उत्रयानीण ॥३१९॥ उन्न तदन रे उद मिनी मारिष रेरे भाप उद धासी भने उने में अग्य उत्रक्तिभ ॥३३०॥ वारे बैठा मिनी सारिष याम वये में उत्रसारीण ॥ यने वये ॥ ३३१॥ मिंथ रू षडी मुचेडी चारीस है ॥ सम्बर् डे स्विता साम्ही उर्वे में उत्रभागीणा ॥ ३३२॥ यारे दिन है 251 जीय पेरि में दिन थंत रिमराता त बने में उत्रभग्गेण ॥३३३॥ यग त घामी वसे में उतसाजीण ॥ ३३४॥ 252 रेरे रेरी वेस त पेरे में भारतमी उत्रभारी आ ॥ ३३५॥ वेम दिस नीष्ठ यहत रहे में रिल्ड्री उत्पातील ॥३३६॥ में ग्रामिश्व मध्मी 253 वेम त एहे में भरेउ उत्रस्मीभ (1330) में मारी वंठ वीडी रिमारे में भासमी उत्पारीण ॥ ३३८॥ में मारिष भी वा थाठ छवे त्रंगा वर्वे में उतथारीण ॥३३६॥ रिमारत वनवे निर्म रहेंचे तंता दुने में उत्रभातीण ॥ निरही मुबी वह स्मीट सहे 254 ॥३४०॥

है। भिय रामी रा मुठा यारे में उत्थारी मा ३४२॥ भे मिभ भाउं निया दीभि 3 ²⁵⁵ री धैरी पदे में उत्यामिण ॥ ३४३॥ मिस रेटि वे रहे में उत्पारी भा ३४४॥ । मिय ज़ेर भेर मिथ दिन मुट्ट से माटी सिर जैर मारे में उत्पारीण ॥ ३४४॥ । वेमपानी चिटे चुटारे में उत्थापनी ॥ ३४६॥ भे रेमपारी वसद सारे में उतथारीण ॥ ३४७॥ में मिय मिय री चुवासी वरे में उत्रयानीण ॥ ३४८॥ माथ र्वास मारिष मी ॥ निम र्णरेव [च्नर्स] च्नारें रमे डिम ए दीउ वर्गित्रण मन गरारिका १३४६॥ है। मिथु बूद-मा बिस वे मिथु कू सद्भारे में समबग 1104211 IMPCIALE मिय मिय हिर भरम्षा वर एषपा यहारे में उतथानीणा॥ प्रमारि सारिण भारे मिस रू मुख त वरे में उत्रयारीण ॥३५२॥ मिया थामें सूर इथारि वे चेनी सारे में उत्रपारीणा ॥३५३॥ गेरम मिथ इसे सहत भाय भारी रंडी रेटि से भेंती हुपत चर्ने सदे से यसंडी उत्रयारीण ॥ ३५४॥ ने रम मिथ भेने चद्र गरी म मिथ ब्रे महे भारत त त्रवत ²⁵⁷ में उत्यारीमा ॥ ३५५॥ ने मनभा री भन्नी भिरा भाग ह्यीदी बने में उत्रयातीमा ॥३५६॥ त्रे मिथ र भेर उद्दे राजे याग्र दिवारे त्राहे रमे राजी में यें उत्रस्मिम ॥ ३५७॥ भाभ र्जना चेसा सारे मिसा मू साजा सदारे में उतसाजीभा॥ 34c 1 ने देरिया भारे में सूती 258 उत्पारीया ॥ ३५६॥ अपरो ब्रगीजीण उत्पानीण ॥ ३६०॥ ²⁵⁹

में मिय एन्तरानी भा री मंगीं बने में उत्रयारी भा ॥ ३५१॥

मिय री दमउ चुगरे में थेउ उत्रथानीण ॥ ३६१॥ गरीष मिय ए तिणएर ²⁶⁰ यहे में जैवारी उत्तयाजीण ॥ ३६२॥ मिषु दागुतातु नी वी ढडे घुरुष्टे भने रा बेरे में भारी उत्रथारीणा ॥ ३६३॥ ²⁶¹ गुमडी मिथ विगडी यानि जैरे जनराम री वैंडी सारे में रिसरी उत्तराजीण ॥ ३५४॥ रेज वैडी भयवानी हू रेस वे ता रेरे में उत्थाजीया ॥३६५॥ रेग बैडी भवराम री बुवू वा रात त नारे में सूवया उत्याजीन ॥ ३६६॥ मुट्ट की भीम भवराम् असेड तू रेदै में उत्रकारीभा ॥ ३५० ॥ में मिय भयते वसी से तग्स वैट-सिस्गम वनवे भमत 262 त वरे में येंड उत्थारीण ॥ इद्दर॥ में मनष्ठ री भनमी त भते में उत्रक्तीण ॥ इद्दर्॥ 263 में भिष परारा भारत मारी में उराभी 264 उत्रसारी भाइए०॥ में अहा । प्याराष्ट्रपर में देन पर प्यारिया हि वहारी हाम में में उठ स्थे में तीच उत्पारीण ॥ ३०२॥ तिग्रे भित्रपारहीरे मास द्वे में उत्पारी भा १३७३॥ में गृवू की संखी भमप पत्ने में उत्रसंजी गा ॥ ३७४॥ 265 मिनाग यु युनि दिनि गरे में उत्यारीण ((३७५)) भगराम वीडे बिरा युमार दगडारे में उत्यारीण ॥ ३७६॥ यमार छैरा मिय बगुउ दिसता वरे में उत्यारीण ॥३७७॥ मु दे ममत हिपन पुरी उत्र सने में उत्रभागी मा ११०८॥ 266 मुचू की पनरामें सुद्धे में उत्रस्परीण ॥३७६॥ वेमयानी भवासभेषी नाभा थारे में उत्तथारीभा ॥ ३८०॥ मुग पीरावे में उत्रसारीण ॥ ३८१॥ -मरभा यारे में उतथाजीणा ॥ इ८२॥ रंडान येथी चैनी नुभास चुनारे में उत्रथानीण ॥३८३॥ टैयी हासे ही यैनी यहे में उत्रयारी भा ॥ ३८४॥ टेपी रासे रा मुठा भारे में उत्रयानी मा ब्रथ्य।

शिव भदी धुनत मारे में उत्रचाठीण ॥ ३८७॥ भाषा बीनउत थाठ चरचा ²⁶⁷ दिश्च वासा बरे में उत्रच्या । यह ॥ ोरे इस गरीय मिय भारवी सी मैर त रहे में उत्रयारीया ॥३६९॥ भाषव बसव बेमी पारे में उत्रपाठीण ॥ ३६०॥ भाग जुरे रजी मिस कू वेमा दामडे का रेहे में उत्थाजीमा ॥३९१॥ भागीव चेग्स रिचे वावू वर भिया त वहे में उत्रथा भी आ १६६॥ थान उरे नानी स मिस भनवी हे 268 त या पर रहे से उत्रस्मजीभा ॥ इध्य ॥ मिथ रेदल छने मिथ स्तीर बने में उत्रस्ती मा ॥ ३९४॥ है मिस मिस याम भारिण छैरे मुद्दे सेंडे में उत्रसातीण ॥ ३६५॥ ो मिस मछेड़ ती होमरा गर्भे में मछेड़ 269 उत्रसातीण ॥३९६॥ भिष मिथ यामें भारिका सेवे बेवनभी सारे म तीच उत्रक्षणीय ॥ युर्ध ७॥ गिमिय यामें भारिका है वे त यह त यह है रहे में वियम उत्रयानीया ॥ ३९८॥ मियां रे दिच युमारि यांरा भने च्छी बने में 270 उत्रकारीय ॥ इध्धा मिस रे त्रें लो जेरे दिने हैठ नारे में उत्रयाजीय जैवानी 11800. में असा मिय गेरे में विगड ब्रिगड रा दिसाव वर सरे 1180811 ने ग्राम गुमा वरे तिभारा जेश वे में इसरा ॥४०२॥ माप ग्रेंब मारिष मी। उभ ग्रातीय भयवीत यु डेने जीन नाथ गाय दंड हुइग हैं ²⁷¹ ॥ ४०३॥ में यिन भारे मिस मू जैरे घर बुसिमा देने में उत्रयाजीमा ॥४०४॥²⁷² ने मिस वावन विणा नेमरा र उभामा रेसे में उत्याजीण॥४०५ ते मिथ मनदन भादी भवाभ नारे 273 में उत्पारी भा 80 ६॥ उठव री याग्दी भूमारे में उत्पारीण ॥४०७॥

उठव भायन वेमा हिपन नचे में उत्रंचारीभा ॥ ३८६॥

में भिष्ठ ए भपा 274 में अरे में उत्यारी भाग 11 80 र 11

वेमयानी जीर वे वउन घेटे नये में उत्रयाजीण ॥४०६॥

बड़न रे बटेने भाने िष्ठा ²⁷⁵ नस सी हे में उत्रसारीण 1188011 त्रे वेमायां रेस तारित राजी ट्वे अयह वैसी भेसा सहरहे में उत्थारीणा ॥ ४११॥ 276 ग्रीय मिथ भग्यी मैठा वरे भाय थारि भारे में 1121811 MELEVE बसे मिथ भेते-प्भेते जबर माणियमारे ज्वभागरीरे रामी हिर भादत हामी हासे सबत ता सेहे में उतसारीण 118931 त्रे मिस भयते सुउ तू येसी ग्रंस माजिय त्री ता नियारे में उत्रथा जीभा ॥ ४१४॥ ने मिथ मिथ हू इसी ठठेरी वरे में उत्रपारीण ॥४१५॥ ने मिथ मिथ कू सम्बर दिनि नारे नागरणाने की भर्ती वरे में उत्पारी भ ४१६॥ में मिय मिय तु उठका भावे में उत्रयारीण ॥४१७॥ ने मिस मिस तू रेरे घर वट दिश्चि टरे डेने उन्ने ढरे त् मिट भारे में उत्रसातीभा ॥ ४१८॥ ने मिथ हू तैव भगवता सारे में उत्रथानी आ ४१६॥ में मिथ रो भवरा रेरे बाह वह दिस् त समवावे में 372757m 1182011 में मिथ मिथ कू नुनू वा दामउा थारे ਹੋरे घर का भेते में उपनारीण ॥४२१॥ त्रे मिस विमे तू बेय्नित दाम्य याष्ट्रे में उतसारीण ॥४२२। हिंगु भीड हिंद्रव रा घरत में ॥ ते निय युमारि गृहू वा वनवे भुछा जो इन्हें मर सै नारे वाठी व त त मरे मे सिवामी उत्थारीण 211 1823 11 ने मिस जिर वे सदाया हिया जैहै में उत्रसाजीण॥४२४॥ में ग्रेनिय रेपि वे भमवन रेदै भूनय रेदै डिम कू भिंड रेटी 218 ॥ मास मिस मारिय मी ॥ मृत्य नं यहै स्ट्रभान 279 ॥ ४२५॥ में मिस सारियण री टउस त वरे में व्रिउयत उत्थाजीया। माथ नीय मीउ माय ॥

युउ त भेते भगीयण सममाउरी हुई । १४२६॥ वेमयानी जेरे मजनयानी जेंड-भेट दिन थ्मारि दन उष्टे ॥७६४॥ १५६८ म् अ ने मिय भाउ थिउ कू सत्भीय त्रषाक रहे में उत्यारीण। माथ लांच यारिय मी ॥ वारे युउ इवार्गि उ में वा साथ ॥ मित्र में रडीने ड्रभ ने जित्र मिष्ट इग्रन प्रथ 281 1821 में भारो जुरू थामें बेसस नेष्टे में उत्रकारीण ॥ डिमारीण युग्रमारि ते थिउं।। डल्प भारी जिलागी ॥ ४२६॥ में मिथ जारेर यहे िका बहा युमारि द्वारा में अ०६४॥ भि०६४॥ में बड़ा युमारि खेंवाव रा भरम प्राप्ति मुने घामत यारि वे चैंवा त वरे में उत्थाजीण ॥ ४३१॥ ²⁸² उच्छी जुवरी ब्रुगिजीहे भमें बडाजू यमारि वराहे में उत्रभाजीया ॥४३२॥ वद्गार युमारि वनवे उवदी डेसे में उत्रयारीण ॥ ४३३॥ ग्म मारिय ती थाम बेणह्य थिठ हेवे बैठे में उत्रयारीणा 1838 मकर रेठ यद्वर भाग मेंने चत्र बैठे में यय उत्थारीण ॥ ४३५५ उन्न रे हिच भेठे युमारि भारे दनउारे में उतथातीण ॥ उग्र हिलारि रेस ॥ ४३६॥ उस येंडे किए यूमार दनउग्टे ग्रंम मारिष ती येथी त उद रहारे में उत्थारीभा ॥ माथ वांच मारिच त्री ॥ येकी युभेमन वा मात्र 283 ॥४३७॥ ने मिय विधिण भीरे रे वेस बैठे भुमव सरे में 11 28811 Juffersze में गृहू वर मिथ जैरिर वे मिर्नर हारे अदी मुन इठ गड़े मारी युरी 284 रिया रा मीउ हारी सुर दिरवारे किए मार्छ सरे में उत्रथारीण ॥४३९॥ भिष यूमारि इन उत्रास भायता यासे मधे में उत्रथा भाषा त्रे मिस भारते यह रे वंभ दिए उठव अधिरिउमारि वरे में

उत्तयारीण ॥४४१॥ में भिष थव रा बेर [उत्तव तू] ²⁸⁵ रेरे में तीच उत्तयारीणा ॥४४२, में रुडभी रा सुर दिटवाने में बक्ता तरी मातला ²⁸⁶ ॥४४३॥ उत्तव री चावनी वनवे राष मुद्रारे लैंहे ॥४४४॥ चे भिस भएते थान ने वीसे सिस त राम बनवे सेरव बन

त्रे भिष भाषते था हे वैसे मिस कू दूर वरावे सेरव वर राषे से उत्तथातीभा ॥ ४४५॥ त्रे भारते के क्रिक्ट क्रिक्ट वर्ग वे सिमात्व वरों से

में मिथ रे वेंभ दिन मिथ गीं वे विणात बने में उत्थातीण ॥ ४४६॥

में मिथ मिथ र च्छार मुरुत वे तारित त मारे में पवा उत्तथारीण ॥ मेंभ भागग वरीरा रै ॥ ४४७॥ में मिथ गुगु वा गुवभ त भेते में यवा उत्तथारीण ॥४४८॥

में सब्द मास गमा बने में थवा उत्यापीण ॥४४६॥

में भंते हैपीन बने भन्ने सबर मुट ने ने ठ त बने में यता बने सा बैठारे तजी याम यत्रत हामें तू में उत्रभाजीभा 288 ॥४५०॥

ने मिस मिस तू इठी म्युड वगरे में उत्रसारीण ((४५१)) ने विमे मठीन रा गड़ उन्हें रिवे ड्रांग उन्हें रिम रे म्युड वीडे डा म्युड ता वने डा नावम उत्रसारीण ((४५२))

ने मिसु नान रेजी भान भान नासा हिर सेने में उत्तराजीभा ²⁸⁹ ॥ ४५३॥

ने मिस मिस मारिस नीर महामी वरे में नीरा उमसामीण (1848) ने मिस मिस मू भारिसा रे वे विराउ सारे छू सारिसा

मिथु मिथु हूँ भगर भार से व 1903 सार हु नगर भार मिथु टी इस वठवे सारि मारे मिथु हूँ त रेरे ॥ डिम तास तरी इग्उता त दिस गसुरा ॥ वन्म रेरे उा

घथमरः ॥ ४५५॥

में मिस यामें हटन तारित ह्यथिट मारे उा विवरे मारि वे डिउन छेदरा ॥ ४४६॥ भारे मिस उसे मिस कू वैस दिश्च विटिश्च रेदे ॥ ४५७॥ में मिस मिस कू मारु सुझ वे रूस रेदे में उतसारीभा॥ ४४८॥ मिस रा सामका मिसा दिन तिस्वे गावस रे मारे सिंग मिय रे दरे में उत्तराधिक ॥ ४५६॥

मिथ लावू वर मिथा दिच तिस्ते हेट छैट हारहा ॥ त्रे सेस्प नेहेना में त तिस्त्रेगा हैना दिचे ॥ ४६०॥

रेरे मिस मिसी वसत ॥ विनिरं भी उविमामी है। सेसा पवस वारि सैसी हुठे यामें ॥ में मिस रा भाषिभा त सेते रेज रिव्हें में बेसुस उत्याजीभा ॥ मिस बी मासम जैटि यव भासत ॥ ४६१॥

ने मिय कू मिय नार वे बैर वरारे सुटारे भरदारे में रैड

नगररा ॥४६२॥

गृह वे मिस भौमे तग्स त द्वउत नेमुस उतस्मारीण ॥४६३॥

में मिस मिस यामें चावनी वनारि वे ता रेरे में उत्थानणा ॥ रिडे स्वित तरी दनउता ॥ ४६४ ॥

ष्मत बनवे साउ नारि में उत्रक्तिण ॥४६५॥

ने मिथ रे रैंने उस मास्व रिस्त उर मने उस मैंच बने में यवा उत्रपारीण ॥ ४६६॥

त्रे निय मठीठ सुप रिमारात जबहा यंत्र रिमारात जेरे षाह बीडे षिता युमारि यारे जबहा याठ ग्रेंब मारिष त्री ए बरे में जरेड उत्थारीण ॥४६७॥

में मिस मिस मू बुह घरम बने यन ਹੋਏ नमजारे वे रेरे में उत्तराजीला ॥ ४६८॥

में मिथ रा वावम उत्ते में बेमय उत्तयाजीभा ॥४६६॥²⁹⁰

में भिष मेदब रा भाषम दिनि इवाइए थे मारे ॥ सिंध दिनि सुरुषष रेदै उर प्रवस डी बवे ॥ भाडे मिस रा डाउर डी बवे ॥ ४७०॥

में मिस मिस मिरित जैन घाउन जैन सेंग बने से ख़रू य चैन उमसाजीया ॥ ४७१॥

में नुवू वर मिस रे वे समसे 291 तू भासे वसभा पद में उत्तर्भागी ॥ ४७२॥

त्रुव वर मिस रिस्मार वरवे वेसा तु एस तारित हत्त्वे 292 में उतसारीमा ॥ ४७३॥ निसे मिस भीम रिडे उस्त मिसी हैपरे में मेरीर नांत्र मांगर ॥ रीक भारत ॥ ४७४॥ भीत रेस वे सेड् हिर 293 वारे बैठे में उत्तथारीण ॥ धिमान यग्रे उस म यहे में उत्यारीण ॥ ४७५॥ त्रष्ठ रे वेरे हैपन वारे बैठे में उत्रयानीण ॥४७६॥ वह स्मिरी ने गरी तंग यहे में उत्रथारी भा ॥४७७॥ यग स्मी सदे ग3ी में उत्रयारीण ॥४७८॥ िंचवप मिथ उद्या मुनराम तू युमारि भारे इस त सदारे 294 में उत्याजीण ॥ ४७६॥ ने निय भिया चित नैत मंगिर वरे में उत्रयाजीण ॥ ४८०॥ त्रे भिष मिथा रे वंभ दिर इस्ती खरे ²⁹⁵ रखासी बारे में 37475mm 1184911 में भिष बेडा रा रती वेमी यारे 296 में उत्रक्षातीण ॥ ४८२॥ ने मिष सम् थाउरे चवन ववरे सिष ह देवे में 3750 JU WEZI में मिस दिसे मिस ए यह डेंग वरे. में उत्रस्परीण (भेंउ सास) में उद्दे पिरोमा से मिर जिला है त को नगीर 297 11858, में मियाना की मैनउ त कारे में गचेउ उतकारीण ॥४८५॥ में मिय मु बब्व मेड़ी रेथे में उत्रयानीया ॥ ४८६॥ ने मिथ भाग मंमान टी बाट दिनि दनडे भड़े घाउने सुवडा यरारे 298 में ब्रज्ञ उत्पारीण 299 ॥ ४८७॥ थेंब राज्यात युगर युग्य रा जै॥ दिने यूरे दिने भाट्य ममुद्रे है। भारत में डी रा नेउ वरे ख़बे ता भरी रे 300 ॥ ४८८॥ ने मिस सुमा रेहै नासभी रेहै किउ जाराम बराष्ट्रे उना रेहै भित्रेत्र में यह प्रकार में उपने यह है ति है में मिस वड़ीन भिरिंश उस छारे में उत्पारीण ॥ ४६०॥ में भिष मढ़ हुप बेर भारत बरे में उत्रुपारी भा ॥४९१॥ 301 में भिष ज़्य मारिय भी पेसी है वे भारत तथे पारि वे ॥ त यहे त यहारे में यवा उत्रयातीण ॥ ४६१॥

त्रे मिथ ग्रंस मारिय ती अवस येंसी बेलस्य सी नागा वसे में उत्पारीणा ॥ ४९३॥ में तलारी दिस प्रथमण्य रेरे मिस त मारे में उत्पारीण ॥४६४ में मिय मिय है यूमारि भाष वे देव देव है हैती भने ॥ १९४॥ व्याप्तिह मि मिथ युमारि थारहासे भाय कू गुरू यीग क मारे ॥ दिनारी गृह वी माटे॥ ४६६॥ मिस मायेडहारा 300 मार में हाउन प्र माड़े 303 ॥ ४६०॥ वाव वर मिष भगववा मारे प्रमिमां भारे भाषर वीवउत मंउ मत ग्रंम मारिष भी येथी यद्वरे यया रेव त मारे में उत्रयारीण ॥ ४९८॥ ने निथ निथ कू श्रमरा कू प्यारि भाधे उ भने पिहे त बने ॥ रिबरे रेते यंगडा श्रारे ॥ निथ कू पिहे मगरे उ उत्यामी भ अर्ध। में मार वे मिस सादर मार में उत्था में भ ³⁰⁵ ॥ 400 ॥ मयर याठ जेरे बीगउत हिर बेरी मिय यारिण इगरा भारि यारे मुभार वादारे में यदा उत्पारीभा ॥ 40१॥ में स्मा माभाग दिनि डेर मारे में यह उत्पारी भा ११०१॥ गुरु वर मिथ मेर मारे मिथ मास यानि मेरवर रे भारे उष मदारि करे ³⁰⁶ ॥ 403 ॥ मिय गुरु वा रागगुरु वा माप वनरा नमे ॥ 408॥ में रीपव त ठंडा वनम नेदें यथ वयक ग्राहि वे वने। भर्र री दुव उष रा बुमा भावे में उत्रथानीण ॥ 404॥ मियरी तु सेंडे री याग्रस रेरे 307 में उत्रथारीण ॥ 404॥ भारे युमारि कू तिवारव बवे में उत्रयानी भा मास ग्रेष मारिष ती ॥ ॥ ७०१॥ हिए से से मिल भारति है महरू निर्म गुरू वर मिथ येंसी विष मारिष त्री ठेर घाटी परित्र छटी भाभे॥ में भाभे थित हरिज्ञ में उत्रक्षिण ॥ 40४॥ मुठे प्रमारि डेट 309 वरे में उत्रथारी भा । येवी ग्रंम मारिष

त्री यित्र वे निरमाती दिश्व वसु वसे में उत्रसारीण ॥ 40 ९॥ वेम चिरि उने वनते भासे ॥ स्वादे भासे में उत्रसातीभा ॥ 490॥ यटी क्रियट राक्षा चिरि वे मुकारे भाभे में उत्पारी भाषा 499॥ 310 भें गिर सर्पे मार्ची मार्च हुउ नारे में उत्रथारीण ॥ 4१२॥ मिय मिस तू एका रेहै जभावना यारे में उत्रस्पती भाष १३॥ कु हुपन पाली उनरा मिस पाली भेंगे या पिला है में 11881 Inchare

में मिथ भावते भारे 312 मिथ हू उंच येच्छ बवारे में

3741 Jm 1149411 मुनम रेर्डे तू तथमवान त वर्ने 313 में उत्रथानी भा ॥ माथ यारियारी १०॥

तमे मुनम मुनमे॥ तमे चेंट् चेंट्रे 314 ॥ 48६॥ में भिय ब्रुव वर्षे में उत्रयात्रीणा ॥ पे१७॥ 315 तंगी वेमी दिने नदास थर्रे में उत्रयानीणा ॥ ५१८॥ तेमी बेमी बागान दिस बैठे में उत्याजीण ॥ 49 ९॥ 316 र्तनी नेमी भागना ट्रे में उत्रयाजीया ॥ ४२०॥ तंगी बेमी डेमत बने में उत्तपारीण ॥ 422॥ राज्ञी हास ड्रीभउ थामें वेम रियारे में उत्रयाजीण ॥ ४२२॥ मेप्नित सणात तु दृटा भावे 317 में उत्रथारीण ॥ 42३॥ वेम त्रउ त्रात संका त सुरे में उतसाजीण ॥ ४२४॥ अं। द्रीभंडी दिनि वेस सेल बैठे में उत्पारीण ॥ 424॥ 319 वेम त् हास भाये में उत्रयारीण ॥ ५२६॥ वेमा दिनि मीष्ठे येत स्वन त रहे में उतस्मीण॥४२७॥ वेस कू मंर ग्रम हमरे में उत्रयातीय ॥ 42८ ॥ गुरु वे वीगउत दिनेच उठ गरा वर्ने में उत्रभागीण ॥४२६॥ 320 मिथ सेडे हू भाग वे येन नगारे विषर्वी तारिए में

3747 m 11 430 11 में मिथ लुटू वर लुटू वे मिथ ए भग्र डेल बने में उत्रयंजीभा ॥ 439॥ ने रिष्ट मिय भायम दिनि एउत्र ॥ मिय भने वन्त रेरे

त संत्रत सेरे उतसारीभा ॥ ४३२॥ नेग्रज्ञ मिथ मिथ रे बने हिंपन चले तरी में उत्रयानीण ॥४३३॥ ने मिस भायहे गुरू दी गर वर्ते में यव उत्रभागीण ॥४३४॥ निम मिय रे बैठ नयमी त नेरे डिम तास द्वारता 759 11 434 11 322 ने मिंडिगृत् वे बीडे हैंपित माबी बहे में उत्रभातीण ॥ माप ग्रेष मारिष मी ॥ भाग मिं बीभा मन में ³²³ ॥

गर्ने माथ ॥ मन विक युग यार दिन विक तारी 324 ॥ पूरेमी मिस कूँ भीग इसी िषमगभ कू नागा भमसात हामी दिनि वन रेरे तरी में उत्थारीण ॥ ५३६॥ गुरु वे मिथ मुचे उ मीयत ॥ ठव डिचवे बेथी रहेंपट र दिमार् तरी बरता ॥ येष गृत् वा दयेगा ॥ सभा यारि वे ॥ भरे भगवउ यटेनी ॥ दाये दिस भेर सेना मभादर है ॥ नु ने मिथ मुचेडी तग्स दनउत्रनो ³²⁵ ॥4३७॥ एतवान मिया रे खने दिस भाषी रा माभा ग्रंब मारिय मी येसी त यहे ॥ मुहे मजी ॥ यहए॥ भारी भारी मारी मारिस येते 326 मिस मिस हिस बैठ वे ॥ 43 ६॥ ने मिस वारे बैठा 327 गरा बने में उत्रयाजीण ॥ 480॥ उठव भेड़ी दमउ मीनती डे भगरि से विन में मिय भारे में उपमारीण ॥४४१॥ पगरी सारे स्मारि यारे में उत्रयारीण ॥ ५४२॥ षमंद्र हू थाही मुठे मास ठंडा बने में उत्थानीण ॥ 48३॥ मिया दिस बैठ वे बेरियुत्तारा ब्रिके में उत्रथानीणा॥ माथ म्य मारिष मी॥

भूग चर्हे म भने भानी भी ³²⁸ ॥

जैन मास ॥ मे वे स्ववित्र म्यु मेरे कि पहे ममावी 329 ॥५४४॥ उन्ने त्रेरी विभारमी उरे मिया त बारे में भी उस

मुरारि घथमारे राजी में डी उत्थानीण ॥ 484॥ 330 में वार्विजिशे उत्थानीरे डेथी संपट चेंच बाव मुणानी ही जिमारिय वार्वे में डी उत्थानीण ॥ 484॥ निम जिर वे वितिण माने थेनी मेस्ती हरते में थवा उत्थानीण ॥ 480॥ 331 उत्थानीण ॥ 480॥ उत्थानीण ॥ 480॥ वार्वे में में स्वां मारीय नी हिर्चि वार्विम् भौमी मिथी वधे मैं में संब मारीय नी हिर्चि वार्विम् भौमी मिथी वधे मैं में संब मारीय नी हिर्चि वार्विम् वीया वार्वे मारीय नी ॥ में ने तेर बमेरा थर्मी ए वे ॥ माथ वांच मारीय नी ॥ में ने तेर बमेरा थर्मी ए वे ॥ माथ वांचे मारीय नी ॥ ने ने तिरस निरस्त वेरिस्त वेरिस वेरिस्त वेरिस्त वेरिस्त वेरिस्त वेरिस्त वेरिस वे

प्टेरिंग मुवउंग भाड़े विश्वांग भाड़े उत्थारण ग्रावृ वे मिस रू भाषिण रैत ॥ सेरव रू मंमानी रू तरी विश्वाण ॥ ५४९॥

मारे ॥ ਹੋਰ मा थिय ਭाਈ थुउँ विन मारे ॥ ५४६॥ उन्डे तू भियी र हियरेम वरे ॥ वहात्रम रे युग्य तानी रे युगीर उमत ॥ मिथली ए ह्योम हतातू वानी समर है ॥ ५५७॥ गान की ने मिसरी ने हैं में टबन रास भन्दी मिस रू युमारि ग्रहा ह्यारे ॥ ५५८॥ लानू की मिथली सघर घाटी गानू की वैठ वरे ॥ यग्भमारे रे द्वित अमा टेवर मारे॥ ४४९॥ पकी रिचे युनी मुत्र रिचे इसी भारी मैंता दरी मा म उन्ही दिचे तुभास चारत तया मवउ वात् वे तिभउ हेरे ॥ ४६०॥ मुत् की मियली चैंबे रिचे युमार सी उठ रिचे सठ भारे री कुछ वे भग्य रेटे ॥ यग्भमासे ॥ भग्यी मिथ रू॥ गुरु वर घरत है॥ साथ ग्रीय सारिष ती॥ मिं उन्ने विभिन्न सुन यारि ३३८ ॥ ४६९॥ गुरू वी मियटी मुचेउ वने ॥ मवीव टी विवसा परित्र वसे ॥ मैंच मा भिगउया वनने 339 ॥ चैने दिच भोटा गुत्ररी यूमार्ट यवासी ग्रास त वरे ॥ युवा मिर्म मेर भा ४६२॥ गुनू वी मिथली यूमागीर वनरी तव मुख्वरी पिंडेंग सुनवरी उस येरि लप्टे ॥ यालवा यालवी तैरात गर्रे मेर त है भेरे यूमारि डेज़ी रैएम सी मंबा वसे ॥ 4६३॥ मुरू वी मिथली थंती भेकी मिणाये त नारे ॥ जानी रेरे लेहे तरी यंत्री मेली ॥ 4६४॥ भायते मागावस रेहे उ जानी यवसमासे रेहे ॥ ठठा भमवरी मिठली त रेरे ॥ गारे उा मुंड गीउ मुग्न भ्रेडीण ॥ मेरे बेस र भारे ॥ ४६५॥ गुनू की मियली रिममात भयर यंत्र रिममाम विन वे ग्रामें इ यदे ॥ मेर भदी र भेरे ॥ सिरण गृर् व सरे। लावू सिंग उठउ सिंग मीड मगीड सिंग उन्त मारे अ० ॥४६६॥ पित्रमुं वसे ॥ मित्र यवम् वसे ॥ त्रैमे र्म्स मागिय ती

हिस विशाण भैति ॥ विश्वहर्गत सुपरंगत मीखरंगत ॥
तिपात भिमटमैती खानिसक एिणारंगत दिस्त
हैपरेम खुरू वे मिस भिसरी तू भैति ॥ दिस्त में
नतम स्तृस रा ख़र्मा भै यद में रवस है ॥
विश्वस त खर्म थे ॥ सास ख़्स माणिस भी ॥
ख़न मेरा हे बखा वसारी ॥
उम रेस ने मह से माणि रेर ॥
विभ रेस विश्व सेमीर रेर ॥
में रेमी बहु सेमीर रेर ॥
में रेमी बहु सेमीर रेर ॥
स्वाव दिस राम्लू ॥ सवस्व में सेमी ॥ पर्ण रा रिप्त वी खुरू वा स्वाव में सेमी वस्ती
खुरू रा रास्त में बाद बारेहु मात्रता ॥ अव निस्त वस्ती
विश्व वसारही ॥ पर्ण ॥

IV

मित्रभा हे ज्रीण प्रम हि ती

गुरू वे मिथ में हम ममें उमित में ही गार गीर तारित है हा गारे हैं मिथे हैं गारे हैं मिथे हैं गारे हैं विश्व के मुप्त के मिथी है गारे हैं हैं भाग मागा मिथा मास हिन्द मारे । दिन हू मिरी हैं उर पिते हैं में मिने कियर हुए विग्रे । देन भित्र हू पर्मा प्रमा प्रमा प्रमा प्रमा में मिरा वी हैं में हिंग हैं मिरी हैं में मिरा विश्व हैं में हिंग हैं में हिंग हैं पर्मा प्रमा है । प्रामाणी १०॥

गभ रिष्ट्र वाम नगउ भे भारे॥ ब्रम्य वनत डे खेव गटारे॥ पनभ गेउ नुनरेद यठारे॥ नग वग डे यनभ चलारि॥ 348

में िरा पुनत पुन्थ रा पंचु है ॥ वस्पीरे तू मनारि रेही ॥ चाने मनत नानू वे मिष हैत ॥ मिथी रा माव निगड वनिश्व मन्य माप्ती मन तू रिवे नेती ॥ भने मनत भाषे भाषे री दनउत ॥ ४७०॥

में हेरे बंभ भेष्ठ तरी भी वनता ॥ हिस मारिन छुव नाहे रैत ॥ 40१ ॥ इस मैठ मुट मुट ही चान वनती भा रैति ॥ रेथ रेथ वे नितात शिभा ॥ भामा थान नष्ट छा ॥ मा नष्ट छा यंस दिन था ही भी अ मुस रेहे ॥ मे नष्ट छा त था ही भी उग जुटे मिथ यान तू उन मार ॥ यी भा यु श्रा भारत यत रा मेर्ज हैयम स्ट्रेंसे ॥ जुटि नष्ट छे दिन मेर्ज तरी ॥ उग हैम तू दैन हिन का अभी ॥ 402॥

घनत रेणा भाभा ती निष सुनीए री घ्रय त चरेनी॥ ते र्रेषे रे मिष रेतने भाषिकी पंचे दिन वने पिरो डिता री घ्य तामी॥ ५७४॥

में भेमैं डी पंच दिन जैतने ॥ ने सब्हें निज्ने घणीन दनउतने ॥ में नर गन पंच तु जैमी उर समीदनी पंच दिन जैमत ॥ जुल जुल डी बेंसी नै ॥ 404॥

रिस्ति मातिष्ठ वंर भड़े हैता मिथ भावराम बीडी ॥ मचे थारिडमार ने ईर् ने वर्ष्ट्रेस रे मिथ थेरे नेमित हैर बी क्वितरे सी थवी दिस नेमित ॥ ५७६॥

चकर रेमा रिदार भी दिंगिहिमा हिने में रीत में उठ भमाड़े मिस रैत ॥ भड़े थिढ़े डी यंच हिन्च रेमित ॥ भड़े बहु तदा भिरुस तू भिरुस वे सुविड रेपि वारे रीत ³⁵⁰ ॥ भड़े बुढ़ सेंड्रे भगदिवी यंच हिन्न डी रेम्त ॥ 400॥

भाउं में विषक्षे रे मिय विमत में रैंउ मिथ री थवी भारि मतम रैत्रतो ॥ भाउं रैंउ मिय सत्त्रे पीय रिस दस मात्रतो ॥ 40८॥ में मारी ए ने मैसे देंने मृत स्त्रीण री व्रक्त दिनि रैन भारि मतमे में ॥ भन्ने यवमवाभ भाने ॥ स्त्री विष्ठ भावते में ॥ वेरी मेर्व हू नी भावरा नै ॥ स्त्री व्यम् रे मेर्व नेत्र ॥ स्त्री तरी बनेबनी ब्राभत री वनरे ॥ रैन बीम माम्बार नेण नै ॥ में स्त्री रे यन निम् दिनाद्वी ॥ 40६॥ मेरा रैन सेन मारे बुक्त दिसे भारे ॥ वेरी मेर्व नाम ताल

भगवनी वनरा है। हिंचु भारती मारहा से हैंड माले में। भगवनी वनरा है। हिंचु भारते मारहा हे हैंड माले में। में विस्मा भी एनभामा थामें मनाथ रिहारि स्थारे ॥40०॥

में निम ए गान ਹੋरा है जिस रे गान दिन रैंड हत नारे हैत ॥ में गिहले रे रैंड घुपी मिथ भारियी पंच दिन द्वित नामने ॥ डिका थामें मेरा टिन्स डाई डनित डनत हिमा गीउड सबर में डासे यग्भ रैत ॥ में एव जैरिट नामक ॥ 4८१॥ .

र्षण गमा निषा ग्रेस भाषीत हैउ वरम वरमित ॥ विषा गमा विषा ग्रेस ॥ ४८२॥

हित्र मभे यनभ छेर अमात्र ही ब्रामत ख़रू ता दिस ते शेत्र दी दी वी मी मचे थारित मात्र जमा जा वी उद्ग्रम अमी ॥ भमी ख़रू ती भमें भाते उग ॥ भमें बानी रात है॥ भमी ती वनीरे दिसे मारीरे ॥ भमाजा बास बचा रिसे गत सारिभा जैशिभा है ॥ 4८३॥

ममत रेण पवस चंरा इसाई डी ख़ुबू वे थान रहे। अंडे वरे रेति। अंडे थिए डेना रन्था महा मिड्टी शाड़िनारी वे वंभ भारिया भी। रीटाती वन्सा। इ तिया मेरा चारे उपिष्ण भी। रीटाती वन्सा। इ तिया मेरा चारे उपिष्ण याम निर्वे। में चारे उपि ति रीटात। मारिष ख़ुबू डेना घरारव रे में तारिह ति हो। इसी ख़ुबू वे रे। इसा विसे मारा रे। इसा मुं शुवू वे यन मिता रेन माना तारी। इसरी यारी भटडाबू तू डेंबरा रे। 4000।

वैष्टी महीण कू उन कारी डेंबर ॥ समीर दिरेणीर

उन्न भावे ॥ इमी मुट्टू वे पा जी मी हो जेरे पा ॥ इमी इिंड मिष्ठ ज जिल्ले पर्छ ॥ धारे पिरावे ॥ धारण ज नी उन्न वर्वे ॥ पाम चेर समा टेरियण ॥ मैं चैंप मिथा ज्वज वरसा पाम सर्वेडा मी ॥ ४८५॥

मग्र गेण जैंप मिंद्या वागीत िष्ठमाष्ट्र ॥ भैं वागत कै भारिष्मा ॥ मगी सारि भिक्षी ॥ यग्भ चेंर भेग ਹै ॥ में यग्भ चेंर कु भेरेगा ष्ट्रमर उसा ग्रेसेंगा ॥ यरद्द ॥

ने मिय तू राग्मा हुए यु यु उनि वनती ॥ ने भन्छ-भनी भिन्न मुद्यी मिय जैस्त ॥ में त हुस्ततो ॥ भन्ने ने निर्देश रे मिय जैस्त में मन्य हिलान संभगित जैस्त ॥ हिता तू यु इनि मुन् हिपन त जैसी ॥ ने याप है में हुता यामे जैसी ॥ यए ॥

भड़े िष्टम डे डी बहु सुबड़े ³⁵¹ से म्र ॥ में पिड़े इन्स तरीष्ठ मुप बन्ने मीम रेत्रने ॥ यन भैमे बिरे रिन्से सुनीर नेम्र ॥ 455॥ ³⁵²

रिव समें इसे बैगर माठिष हूं एडिण ॥ सुधी मंगल दिन ॥ ममड़ १७६० ॥ माथी हे मेसे हैपन ॥ हन्षान समा जिए मिथा पाम स्वेरा मा ॥ हे मने पाठिमां ना मानिष्मा है एम निथा पाम स्वेरा मा ॥ हे मने पाठिमां ना मानिष्मा है नाने हेर स्व हूं उने इने हो ॥ दिव भी त निभा ॥ दिन पृष्ट्व विम हे भामने नमेगा ॥ येष हा हासी बेंह मेंगी ॥ इनवा ताम हैन है ॥ इनव पंच ताम भनतो ॥ मंगइ बंतने मिथा वीडे मंगडा हूं मिषान पवराहे ॥ इनव उने जिता ॥ यह हो होता ॥ यह ॥ इनव उने जिता ॥ यह ॥ इनव उने जिता ॥ यह ॥

मगत रेणा उत्प्रिणा भवी मंत्री तरी मी उपही।।
एमा तामिणा ए मगत मी।। िष्ट हामडे ममंद बहे।।
तो िषडे भागे भागता नुवू त महित ॥ नुवभाषी मनम्ड भारतमे ही।। भाडे भागा नुवू वे समर ए।। भाडे हारी 353 भारतम् यवस ॥ भाडे चिद्रीणा थामें मात्र सनदाहे रैति॥ षष्ठ डगरडी र जैमी ॥ भड़े ज़ैन डनवा रा डेन इडिमा छै॥ दिल बेरा डेनामा हैन सै इडामा ॥ 46०॥

भड़े उनम हूँ भायते राष्ट्रते राष्ट्रतो ॥ भड़े यंद्र दिनि युगउत भिय समञ्चानी येरे नेमत ॥ में त्रय नयत्रने ॥ पर्श ॥

37 उसे भारिया वाठीय तिहान ६२ घंए वरे थैए रेमी 11 भाडे वैठ रेमी 11 भाडे ६२ घासमा वेरदा रेमी 11 निम तु गुरुभाषी रिडी रै 11 482 11

म्बर रेणा भारतमा ६२ स्ट्राम मीमाव टी वाटे ॥ मिरा व्यू हू व्यू माउा व्यू वी माडि रेटि फिन्ने ॥ मवन्ड दिचि व्यू ॥ टिव मीए माप रेमी ॥ माडे सदावे वीडिण रिट पिर भड़े में भरीते पिंड पुवाट रेमी ॥ ५९३॥

में जारीए ਹै मागिष धुवत युवध जी ॥ मोगउ १७६२ ³⁵⁴ ॥ हैमाथ रे भगिते हिन्न भउीउ माप घैगावी तू भिरा ने हैम तारा बहु नोमें नामा नी उभा थैति ॥ भने हैम री हिंगु मारे ॥ यन मारीए ਹै जो यंद्य हिन्नि घर रेने हैम तू सजा नमती ॥ भाने लुलू जारे ॥ 428॥

में मुप डी ड्रग्य तास तैत्र है। भड़े मर सुध मीम डेट ख़रू की सम्रह है। भड़े थंप डी बहेप बर्हे बीडा है। भड़े ब्रेप मित्र सम्बर् तरी यबद्गीरे। में ब्रेप डी मर थंप दिस बरेगा। 464॥

ख़ू वे मिथ मिथी डी की मिड़मतो ॥ हेर वेम मिमानी मिथी ही डैिम ॥ स्रान ख़ूब वी रै ॥ हेर यम यंद्र हारख़ हू वी डा डै ॥ ही रानी मिथ की मिड़े ॥ भड़े सवड़े डी मिथी कैमिन भारिवी नाम वनमम ॥ डिमा दिने सुनी ह में रेसम में डी मिथी कैसम ॥ यन सुनी ह सेड़े डैम ॥ भारिवी बरंड रेसम ॥ 48६॥

उीवष री भाष्ठ उँदी पंच रा वाम चसमी॥ भावे। घडा वष्टुरा पे मामी॥ यव स्मारिबी पंच दिच डी भैमे सुवीर जैमित्र॥रेषत तु भैसे विवडी तिसाहे॥ माथ वींघ मागिष ती ॥

मित यर लंटीन बाउन न्या है है हो से मान ॥
तित्र तेतु हाना नय मेडी टेयटे टीएन 355 ॥ 460॥
में डिम यमे भी इनव हुम टेत्रने ॥ मिय हू ॥ में मिया
हे मीम टेटे वनवे इनवा टा यह भीट निर्मा ॥ रिव इनव भौमा नेहैना में इनवा टीणा मदा यर मारेना ॥ रिव रिव भूनीर भैमा नेमी मडी मडी मड बनम हे हैं भूनीते निर्मी ॥ डिम की यीढ़े येष उवदा निर्मा ॥ मारिक हे यह सुमय 356 होटी राम यिडा में दीचान वनवे रेन निर्मा भायी मुनू माटे ॥ 46८॥

रिव मभै मिथ पंत्र सै नुपसा उत्तथाण र रिवठा वनवे ग्वान सै नारे ॥ नानी म तिदान रिग पनभ केंग्र तू बक्त बनीरे ने निनवाने त्रभा बने ॥ बक्त रेणा बेने नपसे नैत ॥ नी नानी म तिदान उत्तथाण रे रिवने रेरे नैति ॥ बक्त रेणा नानी म निया तू वपने ³⁵¹ नेने वन रेरे ॥ युमारि बने ॥ 488 ॥

में मारिष एवत एवस नाठी था री नीव ववत ॥ एंस नर भारियी नुभाती चत्रेना उर रेउ नाम, सबे नीउ नामत ॥ सास न्यं स्थापिष नी ॥

गित भग्स हूथ जाउ ज़ैक्त येंने ठवा ॥ रितरी ठवी नवा ठिवाण विमे त वर्षी सन ³⁵⁸ ॥६००॥ रिट्र येंने भगरिवी येंच दिच जेमत ॥ माथ व्यंच मागिक नी ॥

वाम वपटे हुप वपटे प्रत वपटे व्हार वाव घडा 359 ॥ वाम भीमा जेमी ॥

मंग्ड िमियण इस्त्रं हिन् तात्रव मित्र जीव मंग त गासडे ³⁶⁰ ॥

में नाम दिन रेग हमडू निमित्र ॥ साथ वांष साणिष नी ॥ बुक्ते भत्र वयट त वीत्रे ॥ भंड सेस डेने मीण पर छी में ³⁶¹ ॥६०१॥
में नम ए में घनत जिएल में यंद तू तरसे निगन
ों तरसे विश्व में मिसी नमें यंद्र तु तरसे निगन
भन में मिसी मारे डा वरीन ॥ में नम दिन मिसी
निगती लिसी में ह्य नस मारेनी ॥६०२॥
नम डे हैपनंड तन्य ॥ में नान वा मिस लवर
निमती में मां इंड निमी नम दिन हैरानडा ॥
नम रागिनान वा ममंद्र वे मेरा रिमट वी नस्ती ³⁶² ॥
भारिल दिन हैमलडारी ॥ नोनी दिन मुनाड ॥
मां में मां में भी ॥
मेंसी में भारे समम वी हाती डेमड़ वनी
निमात हे सास वी हाती डेमड़ वनी

रित्रे मभे प्रभ ग्रं समारागी भाउं तैन निंधा गरे रित्र भन्छाम तीडी ॥ ती मग्रे पाडिमाण ॥ डेना बन्त है ते मन्बा दिन भे ण ॥ भाउं सालमा भेनी रेग है ॥ तेम है ॥ ज्यान सालमा है ३६५ ॥ भाउं त्राप्ते बन्त तीडा है ते भमा पाप हू ठाग्न पंघ दिन रिडी है ॥ हाभाउं पंघ रे उन्या टा बाल सिरिमा है ॥ तेम तीडा ते हिस तीडा में पंघ दामाउं ॥ में नानीब तिदामि डेने दिन हिमा पाप तीन निगतो ॥ ६०४ ३६० ॥ वित्र हिरामा तिथे मनब्दा रिवाइ हेमी हिने गर्ह

म्मित गर्मा भिष मिन दे एए दे उत्तर है। हिल्पा गा आप में मनम् जी निष्ट निष्टी तरी । हिल्पा निषे पनम हे हामडे मिथी हे अवहा पन्धेपवान हामडे डनवा तामि मप वनताने हैं में भेना निष दिन ही हामडे डनवा तामि मप वनताने हैं में भेना निष दिन ही हो है। जिसे समह पाठ चनचा वीनउत ने हैं में में नुष्ट माले । जो भेने मिलता हैं पाति में में में में हैं है। जो मिलवा ता में मिला है। जो मिलवा ता विज्ञ होता निष्टा मिता में में ने ने ने ने में शामडे । जा है हो पाति हों भिष्टी वनता महों हो ताम हामडे । जा हे हो है मिथी

वयर दामडे ॥ ६०६॥

भड़े पाप मूं ठाउन रिडो नै तन्त्र डन्त हामड़े ॥ रिठ मनम मुट दे भाभा दिपास मिथा भड़े नेन मिथा भपते डेने भारि भीचान बीडा ॥ ते रेटि ठिटानी ते पंष रे नात रिह्न मनस ॥ भड़े देय निटामी ॥ भड़े मनस रिह्न पैरिभाती प्रेपर हैडपाउ नेरे नैति ॥ देय रिह्न त्रय सद्भारिण रैन नेरा नै ॥ साथ म्या मारिम ती ॥

मूने होने त भाषीभे भर्जवान भनी इस पाइनि॥
भंगे भाषत पढ़ाहती हुने पन नाइनि॥
भित्र व्रतेय मिष्टु सुद्वरे भने थिडे हुस पाइनि॥
गिन नीष्टु भर्जवान त नाइही हेर बूब स्वाहिण॥
भर्जवान महे दिनाती नाहे भन नतभनि दिन भाइनि ³⁶⁶ ॥६००॥
ना भाभे नी सबर री साथ साम बनत बीता उा सिम
सुह वे दिसमार रेषि नहे॥ सास गुंस मानि नी॥

में भैमा नम त विते नम मित्र एवं निमम है 367 ॥६०८॥
मिभा पारि वे भाभे विद्यास मिथ्य भनराम वीत्री ती
मचे थात्रिमार ॥ धुम नम दिच मिथा ही नीत वीवू निमी ॥
घचत नेमा भाभा नी धुम मभे भनीर डी नेमीत ॥ ने सब बहु रात नुवू वी मात्रत्वो ॥ ६०६॥ में दिनसे चे वे में वैमे ॥
साथ मुंध मारिम नी ॥

डित वे थए थैए में थिए ने थिए हैं है ते तथ गीव वारे ॥
डित वे थिव भगिस मवारी थिए है है तिती
व्वभ्थ मिथ भिश्रणवाड नारि हरमारे ॥
डित वे ड्रे नीत धुरगीर में थिए हैं है तिती
व्वभिथ मिथ माय मेंवारिड चे तारे ॥
डित वे वर्भ यरभ मेंवारिड चे ते में बेसरिं राभ
तथ गीर मारे ॥

िन्न से येंडे एम है डे ग्राग्भिष निष् ग्रांचु पी जाडे ³⁶⁸ ॥ में रिया रे जान ਉपनािंड जेंग सेंटी नान जेंग मजी ॥ भीड रा नाम रिया रा है ॥ ६१०॥ रिख ममें मभ3 १७६३ पेंग रे भीते डेस प्रज्ञ गरिं गणी । दूमापे रथती परे मसरे गैत ।। णडे रनहामें मेर गैजीण मैठीण गिरणा ।। मागिम मुथ दिश्वि टिखे गिरे ।। में राम गैप मिथा गगत दैस री पहारी ।। में गगत यभक्त मारारा में दिख तिए।। में रिख मापु लवम माउ डे नेमने जारि पंदेश ।। मागिम ताने में भी लाहान मिटे वे नागिणा ।। ६११॥

हम रिव बागड़ मारिष हू रिणा ॥ पुरात प्राथ ते प्र बे बचत बीडा ॥ प्राथ जेंग्र मार ऐंगे ॥ ते गरी जमा बहु बागत बीडे जैत ॥ बहु मिर जैति ॥ बग्बे डुमारू भिक्षा गे ॥ भड़े माडी भामाडी भिष्य दिस पेंटे ड्रै घरमा गिर जैत ॥ डुमी मेराबती हे बेठे भैता गार उसे ॥ तेंग तिय ही बरीभा दिस स्ट ठिए हैं ॥ ६१२॥

िरंग भाभे ती किस रिडा हैपन मरी भाभ स्पिष्ट रिडी। हिंगु माय कैरे नी भंडाियाणात जैरिट विष्णा। भाभा ती मेत्रडी वनवे सिंह निजे।। त्रे रिश्ज वेंट मी विस् भारिया। विस् नेत्रिया है।। यु मागिष्ट त रिमाणां।। ६१३॥

मनम् अस्मिण स्पर्गार दिन भी छात वीडा ॥ में मैं में थित्र माने कुमरा राजा जो भी राजा की जैसे जी रेन है। में मानिक राजा जा मानिक के भाग मी भी दिन री राजा विराध विर

िप हेरी उन भंपेन थे मामी ॥ भड़े बलमुन एन खंडेमी ॥

रिए रेट्टी राम बस डेनल युमात री बण्टा है ॥ में रिए मम

डी भादर है ॥ में मारिष मी येदी भाग माम इंपार परे

भाभरे हैित ॥ डिल्फिमारी सेडी मुनिभारी मण्डा ॥ ध्रुपाड

रेमत ॥ ध्यूर रेमत ॥ भागान भातेरेटी मेंबन मनत है

मामी मानी मिमट ॥ ६१५॥ मनत है ॥

मंबन मनत यनमा मान रेरी ॥

हड़ी यनभ निष्ठि तरी बेटी 369 ॥

माथ वांच सारिय मी ॥ बिल बाउी नामे बमाधी पाम येष बीन डिडिनिया ॥ बुद्ध भभादम सम् चेर्भ रीमै तारी वरि मिद्रण 370 ॥ भैमा मभ उमी ॥६१६॥ ित्रम् ममे दिश्चि घ्यदग्तु वैमे नेमत्॥ मण ग्य मारिष मी ॥ मत्र कि भी द्विप विज्ञा मिर त मारो ॥ भत भंये हिये वहता रिमत भने वहुए 371 11 रेयत तू यने निरे भाषीत ॥ यन विवर दिच गडे डी जेमात ॥ विवर ते युवत युवस रा ਹै। माथ व्यंष माजिय *त्री*॥ रिव वरिण नामित वरिण स्ट्रीत ॥ न्ने भेने ॥ डे तर मु**य** स्थ म्थ्य ³⁷² ∥ में वावू वे मिथ सवीर ॥ वाम दिनि डी यारिण दिन डी गरी मी दिनि औ ॥ यर दिरासे मेरे ॥ भारे तीर मगुउ ॥ रैमे ॥ साथ र्म्य मारिय ती ॥ रिव रार में बेर म मीभ मम मंम बमु म मारेंउ॥ रिवर भिय र भ्य र भवस मन गयन वा डेरी ਨ ਨਾਤੰਤ ³⁷³ // यत दित मु रेंग घरत है ॥ तग्तव ने तर भमा ४२ में बित गुर गरब वर्गे 374 1188011 में वहें हे मिथ उंहे ॥ अप्रे वाम दिनि अरे अपिका दिनि अप्रे ग्रामी विक्रि ॥ रेयल म रंगे यहे निम्मानी वीउदात भारें ववाडि माप संडे ॥ स्वत है पाडिसारी १०॥ <u>बेथ रियण्टे</u> नगउ वे खेवत वे चम वीत ॥ भीडियास वाडी वरे पामु तत्व में सीत ³¹⁵ ॥६१८॥ भौग रन्यान रन्येना ॥ माथ न्य मारीय त्री ॥ मिया मारे प्राथमित हिर्पाणि भीय द्वउग्ग अष्टि हुमा 376 ॥ में भुना नेना उमित में डिंग रा तनारन ॥ भनेना री

युना ॥ यात व्यपात त रेयत्रवे ॥ भायत्रवे भावराम वववे यार्ड थरिउ जेण ॥ माथ व्यंष माणिष नी ॥ भाजित यारी जाम भी जेरि जसास ता मारि॥ तगतव वासी बुद्यीण बुद्धे बुद्धी सर्गेष्ट 377 ॥६१९॥ यन ने ਉत्राकृ वेष्टी मघर रा घुप रा मुनुवा ९४रेम वरे उ तरी कवार ॥ सम्य वीय समी म ती ॥ वाडी रेइत वासीमा मुर्थेरा मेहता। रिप् घता उसे यह वर्गला वाले देत 378 । 1620 ॥ माभ नीम माठिय मी ॥ में दाव॥ ਛਾਤ ਕੁਚਰਚਾ ਆਸ ਸ ਸਾਸੀਹ ॥ म्राभ वृ ते विकास त मार्गी 379 ॥ महिद्री वाम दिस वसीन समय साम मनत वीउा नै तीका रे युमंग ॥ ६२१ ॥ में याय मह वनम रै ॥ भैमा मम रेमी॥साथ र्वाय सारिय मी॥ म3ीण मीं वर्रे 37 ही ही उपीरे 40 34 त रेरी 11 तगतव तरि सिरिण बरतासी वीस वे सपट हेरी 380 ॥ भग में थाय जैति में हिरे जैमित ॥ स्वम जीउण ॥ मात्रमहा स वासर ॥ वासि राणकी साव स वासर ॥ मेंडू सी मारिव से नाभम ॥ भड़ींड सी मारिव से नाभम ॥ गुनेंडारी र भागम ॥ भाउ थिउ र भागम ॥ ग्राम मानी र माना ॥ हिमामभाउ येंगी भयसहत रेत में डिउयउ नेमित ॥६२२॥ रिए बसमुन स सुरुष्टि है ॥ यस दनउत्र ॥ यनमा डी थर नामी। तरीण रे तीव थर नमी। विषण वे सीव।। मनभ हम घरें घर रोगी ॥ व्यभारी वीतभा त बाराव ॥ में में देम हिरात समाडी ॥ भरूष बीव ॥ र सेर र युगर ॥ र वनम त पनम भौमी जनित तरीस वसत्रम दनतेम ॥६२३॥ भाठ मे भैडी घरम मेथ रामी उर मिडमूरा पेट तिंभेग ॥ स्र्ययर रे यि ॥ भड़े तिग्वर्षव भष्टिंगव थैरा जैसी संबंस तन्नी दिश्व भाष्य हे भगीते सुबस प्र षिउ पंचभी मैभराव ॥ विमर राम ब्रामित री

मातू डे नेठ पर्वासीमा रैत ॥ युने सी भीम युनी ॥ विम वन्ते युना युन्य रेतु रै ॥ भाडे मेंड मत ष्रिडम युन्य रैत ॥ ६३८॥

में नुनू वर निष रिम युग्ध रा जिर वे हुरीण रे मुणार रागिर, मिथी र गरा है ॥ मण्य ग्रंष स्पित्र मी॥---नुनू वर मिथ नुनू वी राग्डा मुरु वन मार नर जे मारे॥ माथ नुष माजिब भी ॥

ने मिर पीण दी भाउ मुखारे वर तम्बर डिम विण री है। भीम रहे वर भैमत री ने मिर मिर मेर वरी है ³⁸⁸ ॥६३६॥ भाउ मुखार हर्रासा मिस दैमा जैसे ॥ मास ग्रंस माणिन ही ॥ भाप सुदार सी उगरे ³⁸⁹ ॥

भाग मूत्र भाग उग्न ॥ व्यू वे मिस रेटा ॥ विष्ठें रे मिस तरी रेटा ॥ में विष्ठें रा मिस रेमी में वैमा रेमी ॥ में हम तू वढ हैपरेम त युरेम वरेवा ॥ मास व्यस मारिष्य मी ॥

भरमुष ययव मैस ਹै पिवा नीहर ढीवा ॥ नस भै वेडा वाधीणै यब जंडव मुवा ³⁹⁰ ॥६४०॥

रिग् मतम रुष्ठ में भैमा मुट्टू यंगिर ये भमारी तरी मरादर ॥ हेन रुतीमा रे यरावस मारिमा मम राम भीउ युउ ॥ इफ्र रा टूप मैत ॥ ममे तारिफ़ मारे मैति समे वव हैक मार्वे ॥ ता वेरी यरावस मारिमा मैति। त विमे ताफ़ मारा मै ॥ रिग्न विर सत्वंपी मैत ॥ रिता ताफ़ भिक्त वे मिथी त्री मराद्वी ॥ ६४१॥

रेग हैपरेम मिथी टी निगउ बीचान रा मनभउ तू माज्ञा मै ॥ मिथी नथही नाम दिन्च यारिणा दिन्च नानी बी दिच क्षिमे दिन्चि मैदे मिथी नथे नीगउ बया है ॥ भाने मिथउ ॥ रिग् पृष्टिपवानी मिथा सुवरिजण बीजा मै ॥ गमुन नेथने थुनम युन्य भिष्मामी मी है ॥ ६४२॥

भड़े भिग्न मी दग्रम् भाग दीडी है मिस रेडे हिरम युग्यानय तास पंय दीडा है ॥ भड़े ह्य राउ मुनु दी रूप मिथा तू रेरी है ॥ भड़े रसयड ह्यान मिंथ क्रियानी रे ॥ यनदारानी ग्रमून री रागित ॥ भाने हिर् त्रामात नी उत्तामे रा निका क्रियारिण पनम नेर दियन भूगमत यमात्रानी नानू वा ॥ डिम रे युन्न मानयम मिंथ क्रियारिण ने ॥ ६४३॥

भड़े मिथी रिड मभे हिन्छे मभे जाले मभे ग्राम्य भिथ जीउइएक छटी है। भड़े तत्र र परहर भाष्ट्रिण रित्र त्र त्रामी । मंग्ती भत्रवय छण्ट्टी। यत्रभ्य छटी है। साथ ग्रंम मणीय मी।

थाए बारे जैरे मात्री सिष्टण माय मारी ³⁹¹ ॥६४४॥ भिभी छैठी नुबू वे मिथ म बुसमतो ॥ रिग विवर राजनु युनम युन्य रा ने ³⁹² ॥ माथ न्य मारीय मी ॥ सेथ वेरि म युहरी मा नुज यथमीर ³⁹³ ॥६४५॥

माथ ग्रिटी ख़रूचमें ॥ बगड दहरू मित उँउ ने तिराम निरे परिंड पण्टत मृत भामा दीवपार ਹै ॥ भाइताभी मृत संपीड है भाडे निर्मांड दीत से दिभास मृतउ बर्ग है टार है ॥ नासपर मंग तिरुद्ध सेमस त्रिष्ठ सादत सुर्वाप

मत्रभेप भिराजान ਹै ॥ भपती बनती वन तनव त पाई ठैन डुभने मिनर वे भामने सभागि ਹै ³⁹⁴ ॥ ६४६॥

माथ व्येष सागिष्ठ भी ॥

सेथे वउग्ने त हुटे िथत बुरुत गान ॥

श्रूथ वउग्ने त हुटे िथत बुरुत गान ॥

श्रूथ वार्च वार्च वार्च वार्च वार्च वार्च वार्च वार्च वेडा ।

श्रूथ भी भी भी भी भी मेथ मेटे जैति जित्र है थन वार्च विद्या वीडी है।

श्री की भी था दिसा की वार्च कार्च वार्च वार्च

निष्ण ॥ भने रिणामु ए ५३ सास भूत निष्टण ॥ ९म रे ³⁶ यवदान ९पन ग्रम ते घसम दीन ॥ अष्टी भिन्न ने ने गम्हिसार दिनि भर्नेन ³⁹¹ नेद्दतने ॥ ग्रुब् ने मिथ ९ग्गू भर्तेतने ॥ भने निष्ठे रे भिन्य घ्र नेमत ॥ में गरीषी वनने मिथा तू भाषिण ए महास वमतो ॥ भने मिथा ए बसपादतने ॥ माथ थानिमानी १०॥ मस नै मैं भेस्य भिरा यत ॥

उत्र चंद्र है मिसत वर सामत 398 ॥ भाडे बंग्रवबेस, वन्दे मन्या नदारि रेतने ॥ मिस तू बेमिरव वनत्रने ॥ में भीमस नात्र हे ॥ सास याडिमारी १०॥

गुरिद्द त अग्रै ॥ अस्त त घरातै ॥
भाउँ तनव वर मैंरै ³⁹⁹ ॥
भौमे नैसे रे भिम्स रेमित में रोसी भा भाउं म्याराम
तु नी ता भतंत्रतो ॥ एरिभा यनस द्विता दिसे दून रे मारेना ॥ में निसे रे भिस्स मात्रते ॥ मास यारितमारी १० ॥

मिस हिसान भिमस मैंथाने 400 ॥ हिंगु भिमस विसे तू त सत्ते होते ॥ डिका रा दिसार करी वनका ॥ ६४७॥

वग्डराभा सपुवर जेणा मड राभ ॥

१६ मिडिनान थूमारि माभी विगड थाडिमाजी १०

रिय रित अधी तंत रहार ती चेंितण ने वाठीय तिराम मिथा पुड़ा कू वाग्य वेंदे वाग्ने नेवा है। उस वार् विश्वित मिथा नी सेंसे। में भोगा मिथा नेदेवा से थासमें की घंगे नेवा नेवा पुड़ी उत्या पुड़ी उत्या पुड़ी उत्या पुड़ी उत्या पुड़ी उत्या पुड़ी उत्या पुड़ी जा मारहा। पंडिड थापे भीरे मज़ेड ही भीड़ तारी सेही। भीड़ वार् वी सेहा शिया भीड़े में मारह की महारिष्ट विश्विण वाग्य उसे हिमाइ भी वार्ट हो में मारह की घंगा पुड़ी की केत वे मारह ही मारह तारी घेरी सूर्यमा भागी में कहा तारी। में में सेही मिथा वार्ट हमाइ भी हिमा वार्ट का निमा वार्ट के भाग निमा वार्ट है।

ने भेग मिथ जैमी म िमझ त छादमी। भने भेने मिथ तु निग िमझ कदारिण भने राझी भरारि नेग

यीषु रुगिस मेवा बीउः ॥

हामड़ा हेरे ब्रह्मी हमड़ रेहे भड़े भ्राप्त्रस हे सूरे भंटा तिब्रह्मे भिभ्ड बी क्षि रे मारा है। विष्ठें लिल् गाव हेरी टा एवस है। में मंड युडाय 403 यमितिष्ट यमात । मंड बरे म रहे। बीडा क्रेंड्से म बरे एवस यूमेमत वे मास ॥

ग्रुव या भाषता है में मिथ भेग है हिम हू डाया व्याप्त पीरहा भड़े तमराग चड़ारी भमेग है भड़े मैमा ग्रुट्टी

र भाम डैमे उभाव रिवे नेग ਹै॥

गृह वर यस्त्र हैं ॥ में निषय सेन रेमी में टितर हरतर डे युडीड वर्मी ॥ भड़े सेने यम बेसुय रहेना टितर यस्त्र तू संत्रेना तारी ॥ में मीड मीड वन संत्रेना में निरास रहेना ॥ भड़े ग्रेष्ट्र थारह रा भग्य दिए हैं में रिंचू सिष्टाही रा है ॥ में थारूमे कु भैमी किमाकी रुसी है में रुप टिंचू हे रुप समस्रभाक हिन्क डा दिश्व मिस्र ⁶⁶ ह्यरा कारी॥ विर्टुने सिन्ह हे यहा एका राजा मिन्ह हे बेम विषे ह्यो॥

भड़े ब्रुग्मत ने उभाव पीरे डे भाम भारे डिम पामें मेंदू पादल भगागिताण है। विषे उभाव पीरे भड़े ने वा कि उभाव पीरे भड़े वा कि समाम सारे डेमा बगामन है। ए मन मिण ने ब्रुग्मत स्थाउ है विया दि ते स्थाप ते हैं। ए मन मिण ने ब्रुग्मत स्थाउ है ने मरवनभी त है ।। मरवनभ रिण ने नतम रा क्यामत वनभ चे जामा रा बरे। में क्यामत वेण। हेर् त भित्रण हैरे। में मामिस त हिर्णा । में विया क्यामत भतेल तरी। डिम क्यामत कु रात रेल्हामा बरे ही मुत या रही है। में कुमते उसी माना रात तरी रिजा। विक्री नाना हम उपारी है। वेषी नाना हम उपारी है। वेषी नाना हम उपारी है।

भड़े सी दिसत ती भगिषण है ते हे है पे रिवर्सी र च्ड वसे डे सम इंग्सिट तू सर्हे ॥ भड़े सम ग्रिएत वर्वे ड हम भैमा दस च्वांच्व तरी 406 ॥ ते रिवर मिथ ग्रावडारी मिथ तू बाद वर्वे स्मारि सर्हे ॥ डा हम मी चैंगरा 407 जेरि दसरा है ॥ विहीं ग्रावडारी ग्राव् सभात है ॥ ते ग्राव् तातव डी भारिया है में

ज्ञान मिस मिस गुरू है में हिसरेम रिज्ञा है।। ज्ञान मारी बड़े मेरब मत भाते पनउस जुरू तिमड़ाने ⁴⁰⁸।। ⁴⁰⁹ में ज्ञान जारी तू वेटी संतेगा डिस वा मतस सनत सरनेगा ⁴¹⁰॥

भारता की अर्थ की ख़ुबू रे यूमारि डी ख़ुबू वा भारे यहाररे मन ख़ुबू वे उटे ॥

उ मने यानम गम उरे ॥ िष्ठ यगभ ियण वेट वनभ उरे ॥ वनभ नी उरिण गम िय हु हु ने यन्न ॥ भने िष्म य नी नुष्ठा उरिणा ॥ भन्यका भन्नमारका दिने तै में मंमान की नेन नाम तै ॥ नेन नाम विषय की में भीनी माना भारती तै उन हिंसे ने वन नुनिण प्रती भी ॥ भने में भेग िमस उरेना में स्वाभन्त भाने सैवने वनभ प्रवास यनस्मी वन हुने तैन ॥

मरे रिम प्राप्ती बे बुह िस्थात रेहे उर पंत्रा मिया तू प्रमारि यदाहै ॥ ता पंत्रा मिया प्रमारि यारा भाडे भरूराम बीडी डर रिम रे मड़े बेंभ राम रेरे ॥

ने ग्रांग्यारी कु भेरेना में ग्रांगू तु भेरेना ॥ ने वेरी गानुगरी की मेंग देनेना में गुरू की सुर देनेना ॥ मुरू वा भाषरा है यीं यीं वरी वर योतरा ॥ योतेमा में भिरम्य रेहेना ((जब ने संत्रेनां तमी में नेडे सप्हैना ((भाडे मिथ त चारींचा है में यित वारीड पिह्न ही है उर हैठ वे हिमतात वर्वे नथ नाथ हेर्हे थड़े ॥ भड़े राउत वर्वे ⁴¹² ॥ भारे में थइट रा मारे डामप रे माप रीभा रेरि यहिंदीण यदातीण । मा युग्ज रेरे जा मिसे विस्ता लगा ने दे जिसे नार भसा देवे समर महे 413 ॥ उ भायरी विवड तू मारे। मुझ रे याउव रित वरे उ यैव उस येरे ॥ येरि वव त्रथु डे त्रायु रेरे युत्रै ॥ त्रम चेरि यद्भीया रित वर्रे उर मेंचव वर्रवाम यद्भै ॥ भन्ने भठ युग्निव मात्रुर तारित युग्नि बर्वे ॥ जो बेटी रिटा वीग्र यभारें वा में रेषे भी मुथाका भने मुथाका गरीना ॥ भुडे मस् मगय भादम डा हडी भीभुड विठ वे यमारि यवाहै ॥ विव वै यमारि भन् भारते में मरे भरेर यहै भन्राम वरे मिया तु यहारे ॥ उर रिम

मीण ए रिउ स्पिट यहै ॥ भड़े थिइ तू डी यूउं ॥
भड़े यूम भवन विविण पेडी संतरी मिन तेम
बिता भी हता नग वा स्वभ विरा ॥ भड़े विस्तुन दिनि
गृव मुठीर यवहात है भी भूग नग भायर हैर है ॥
बस्नुन दिन भूमवस्ट हैर है ॥ भूमवस्ट हैर वा हाव
है ने वस्नुन भे मुन वा हो भी निराह रहेना ॥
ने वेटी त मंत्रेना में इसैना ॥

माभाइ षेर युगात यहै सुवाउ त जेरी ॥ सुवाउ वी यहुदी ताम ने ॥ में वेरी ताम सुटै यहै मरीना

मु स्वीउ विदेश ॥

गुर्वित स्विति तारी सेय हेये वेह युगत ॥
वते मुनिर मिथ मुटि भग्तमा वह मै ताम प्यात भी ॥
भव ते व्यान्य वे स्ति भग्तमा वह मै ताम प्यात भी ॥
भव ते व्यान्य वे स्ति ते तित वीण वहा तवव
तात्रीण जैति ॥ मुनु वे इति सीरे व्यान्य वे मेरे
हम वे भागे ठहिन त ठाहै ॥ मुनु मागा वे खुत्रैना
व्यान्य येति उन्हेना ॥

सम रावन मिप बरे विस्ते नावभुभी घाउा भदव घाउ रे ⁴¹⁸ ॥ मीउनाव वा भाषटा मीउ मीउ वव मुतेरा । भारेता में निरास रेहेना ॥ भव में त भतेना

में में डे अर्वेम ॥

गृत् चारे बही दम् हु मुनी च वर्ते मुनी हू बही च वर्ते ॥ वीडा छहे से वर्ते से उदे ॥ भी ग्रें ग्राम डा से एन रिसे ॥ ग्राम त भी से मिती एष्ट्रे ॥ भी बी यागिम मण्ड में ॥

रित्र रित्र नेिर्बंद मिथा भी बेरियण।। में मद्दर दी महा उन्दे युडीड तजी वनती।। मब्द स्वित युडीड उन तन्त्र के मामी।। मब्द यद्भार मद्दर मुत्र रा मब्द बुभार हा।

मन्द भारे तारी याहै॥

मयर याह्य मेंगु सुरु साह ⁴¹⁹ ॥
याटी जुन जुन ते याटी दिनि याटी भीभूउ माने ॥
याटी को मेरब मान भागे युउभ जुन निमाउने ⁴²⁰ ॥
उग जुन जे किर मिथा मी ⁴²¹ बिराभा नाश मिथा में
गारीर ते जिनसाउ दिनि बैनानी निर्माण भागे नाश
दिसारी रे माने ए दिमाउ मानी बन्हा ॥ भीए वा नाम ⁴²²
दिसारी मू माने रेवहा ⁴²³ ॥ थनाशी पीभ नैट मू मुनी
निरमारी मू माने रेथहा ॥ भाग गीउभा ते ॥ थनाशी दमाउ
म नुनारही ॥ थनाशी मानीसी माने बन्ही ॥

मङ्गा नेना ए एकु है । तिस्त वा एक मानी ।। तिरंत्र इठ विव भाविषा है सारिष री रवना है ॥ तिरंत्र यग जैंगत नै वेरि त सुतै युवान ॥ यन मारहा नै सिन त्री विरिट्ट ॥ वावु डे मेम्स तरी रेह्ट ॥ 424 सवर उसा ने वेरि र वीडा विदेवन दिन पान ॥ उसा प्रभ वा सार्चे ॥ जीव रववारि जैरि सजारि ॥ यवस या डेमा हेर माते इसे तेने दी सेरा दगती ॥ सेरा अर वि सभी वरी में ॥ जीव रववाउ में सभी स्त्री में ॥ मेद बन्ती मिथे भीषा दी अशीभा दी हेर तरी मग्तरा में घ्राभत है वे युद्री है उन्हें मेनी है स्तामानी ਹੈ ॥ ਭगरे वयत्रे भने मटा हेमा रामा भिष्ठ मारी ॥ ग्रावडारी माम वर मिस ग्रावृ वर माम वरि मेरा वराती पुना वरती ॥ सुरू मैं मिया मेरी रा सूबभ रे ने नैमा वाव उगरी यहारिया दस में डैमा उंच विमे रे यहारि रा ढस तरी जेडा ॥ मिउता यत हये यत हये में गुग्डारी वा मेदा है इसे ॥

मिसे बारी राग्वाव मी की ढड़े में ॥ भड़े मुते मिसे एउं बारी ई मिडवाव भी वे राव मंड बव मेंतरे॥ रावाग त गैरै ठाव॥ रावागि ठाव त गैरपी मेतिल मिडवाव का राव॥ रावाग ठाव त गैरपी मिडवाव वा गैरि प्राम॥ वाव वा राव मै मेवा मिस गैरैवा

विरिम्म हमर् गारियो उन्यम यथंड वन्य यमे रैत ॥ में मिस रिहेना ख़न सबर की रेनम री युरीउ तम बनती 426 ॥ रेन युरीउ तन्य के मण्ट रै॥

बेहा वारी ती दाउग्व ॥ माभी मधुनत उँरी॥ इस व्य बधमरी॥ वण्डतामा मंथुवर ॥ ^{४०१} दारीग्व व त्री मगरि॥ सडताम ॥ सी लायास यवध ती संगरि॥ चेड सरी चेरे येसी सिसी तीर मण्य दिस मंभड १८२१ रिकीरे॥

बेल्रन् डग्टी नी दग्जन्न सम्भी मेंपूनत जेटी बुल सुव बदमठी ॥ मेंभउ १९१इ येषी मंपूनत जेटी एमभउ जीनताम मिथा चड़ी हे ॥

NOTES TO THE GURMUKHI TEXT

ABBREVIATIONS:

AG Adi Granth.

Bhai Gurdas, Vārān. BGDasam Granth.

DGGuru Nanak Dev University library manuscript no. 1018. **GNDU**

Sikh History Research Department of Khalsa College, KhC

Amritsar, manuscript no. SHR 227.

Mahalā, the Adi Granth code-word, meaning 'Guru'. M1 designates М

Guru Nanak, M2 designates Guru Angad, etc.

Piara Singh Padam (ed.), Rahit-name. Patiala, 1974. **PSP**

Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, manuscript no. 6124. SRL

Numbers given in parentheses indicate folio or page numbers.

PSP begins with a prologue which the GNDU/SRL text lacks. See Appendix.

M5, Gaurī Bāvan Akharī 44, AG p.259.

PSP (70): 'tisakā nām rahit hai'.

M1 Bilaval Ast 1 (3), AG p. 831. PSP omits this quotation and the sentence which

Kabir, Gaurī 18, AG p. 327.

SRL: 'guru'.

Bhikha, Savaie mahale tije ke 20, AG pp.1395-96.

PSP (70): 'virale'.

- PSP (70): par gurū kā sikh rahit dī khojanā karai, tab gurū kā sikh hoi hai.
- PSP (70): 'pher dharamasala jithe katha sabadu granth ji pariai tahan jatha sakati ...' PSP (71): 'jad prasādi khāvaņai āvai tān jathā sakati prasādi ek garās arapan kare'.
- M1, Sārang kī vār 22:1, AG p. 1245. AG: 'ghāli khāi kichhu hathahu dehi'.

Farid, Salok. 112 AG p. 1384.

PSP (71) omits 'athava garam tate'.

- M2, Var Mājh 18:1, AG p. 146. AG: 'sachā nāu'. PSP (71): 'mīne 1. dūje rāmaraīe. tīje kurīmār. chauathe bhadanī. pañjaven masand'.
- M3, Bihagare kī var 16:1, AG p. 554. PSP (71) omits all but a corrupt version of the last line.

PSP (71-72).

Kabir, Gond 11, AG p. 873 (SRL text). GNDU (6b) quotes the line which recurs at the end of stanzas 28-31 of Japji, AG pp. 6-7. PSP (72) quotes the first four lines of stanza 31.

GNDU (6b) and PSP (72): 'sang'.

SRL (4a): 'sabha'.

SRL (4b) and PSP (72): omit 'janam'. Pakhyan Charitra 396, DG p. 1387

PSP (72): 'paraīsatri dekhe nāhī'.

GNDU (7a) and PSP (72): 'praīsatriā dī sangat nā baithe'.

PSP (72): 'ate narī mār kurī nāl nā varate'.

M3, Āsā Paţţi 6, AG p. 435.

GNDU (7b): 'gurū kā sikh ehu bachan prohit nū hoā hai'.

GNDU (8a): 'sevak'.

GNDU (8a): 'guru granth sāhib jī dī mañjī dī charanu dhoi ke vichhi patāse pāi ke'. PSP (73): 'guru granth jī dī mafījī dā charanāmrit vichh patāse pāe'.

GNDU (8b) and PSP (73) both add 'tanakhāhi laivani'.

M2, Vār Mājh 22:2, AG p.148. PSP (73): 'gurū kā sikh kes dārhī chhanīān nāiān dā pāņī sir nā pavāe'.

The numbering sequence of SRL and GNDU, having diverged from section 8 onwards, is restored to harmony at this point by a sudden leap from 10 to 20 in the case of SRL.

GNDU (10a): 'dunī ţahal seva sū lochanā'.

GNDU (10a) and PSP (73): 'jo jugati dā gurū hoi ke gurū kī saran āvai duņā marātibā'.

GNDU (10b): 'babe sahib'. PSP (73): 'satiguran'.

PSP (73): 'asan'. GNDU (10b): 'asanu'. The SRL text is corrupt.

M4, Gaurī Guārerī 41 (1), AG p. 164. AG: 'satigur prīti gurasikh mukhi pāi'.

GNDU (11a): 'vikārī vachi na bīje'. PSP (73): 'vichār vich bīje'.

M1, Asā Ast 15 (4), AG p. 419.

M3, Salok vārān te vadhīk 1, AG p. 1413. AG: 'jin kai man mahi bharamu'.

M1, Ibid 17, AG p. 1411. For 'khatrī' SRL reads 'sikh'.

PSP (74): khatrī kis dā nām hai. so sun. khate pāpān kā nām hai. pāpān dā jo vairī hoi so khatrī hai'.

M1, $V\bar{a}r\,\bar{A}s\bar{a}$ 16:2, AG p. 471.

PSP (74): 'brāhaman'.

M5, Gaurī kī vār 29:2, AG p. 315.

Kabir, Sorath 9, AG p. 656. AG: man mere bhule kapatu na kijai. anti nibera tere jia

M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 12, AG p. 278. SRL omits the second line.

M1, Vār Āsā 17: 1, AG p. 472.

M5, Dhanāsarī 23 (3), AG p.676 AG: 'jah sādh santan'.

M5, Bārah Māhā Mājh 9, AG p.135. AĞ: 'paramesar te bhuliā viāpani sabhe rog'. Namdev, Sarang 3, AG p. 1252. GNDU (14b) and PSP (75) both add the second line of the couplet.

M1, Vār Āsā 5, AG p.465.

M1, Vār Mājh 20:2, AG p.147. GNDU (16a) and PSP (75): 'sog bhani avana'.

PSP (76) adds 'prasadi karavae'.

PSP (76): 'sikh de nam di prasadi dharamasala athava adhikari nu devai'.

Kabir, *Āsā* 16, AG p.479.

M4, Gaurī kī vār 15:1, AG p.308. PSP (77) omits this quotation.

M5, Bhairau 34, AG p.1145.

GNDU (19a) and PSP (77): 'ughāre'.

PSP (77): 'jekar kesadhārī karanī hoi janam de nāl rakhe'.

PSP (77): 'hnavāle'.

SRL omitted this injunction.

M1, Sārahg kī vār 20:1, AG p. 1245.

Possibly a corrupt version of M5, Gond 8(1) and 9 (2), AG p.864. AG: 'guru bina mai nāhī hor'.

M1, Āsā 25, AG p. 356. PSP (77) omits text from 'saradhī subhāu' to 'praupakārī'.

M5, Jaitsarī kī vār 14, AG p.709.

GNDU (1b, second numbering sequence): 'vasat chīj dī sucheū'.

M5, Gujarī var 3, AG p. 518. AG: 'mohi niragun dichai'.

M1, Bihagare kī var 20:1, AG p. 556. AG: putu jinūrā dhīa jinūrī jorū jinnā da sikadāru.

PSP (78): 'gurū kā sikh je arathī [hoai]'.

GNDU (3b) adds 'kulahatiā na sijhate'. PSP (78) adds 'kul-hatiā hai so bhārī hai'.

M1 Rāmakalī kī vār 14:1, AG p. 954. SRL and GNDU have both omitted the first line of the couplet: 'rovahi pandav bhae majur'. PSP (78) omits the quotation altogether.

76. PSP (78): 'ik inhan trihu bina. ik kannia-hat. dūjā bhaddan. tījā bikhia ihu na karan':

SRL (16b): 'maṛīe'.

M4, Āsā 54, AĠ p. 366. PSP (79): 'sāhūkār'.

M1 Sārang kī vār 7:1, AG p.1240.

M3, Gauri Bairagani 5, AG p.233. PSP omits this quotation.

M5, Salok Sahaskritī 33, AG pp.1356 -57. AG: 'guramantı hīnas jo prānī dhrigant

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janam bhrasatanah. kukarah sukarah garadhabhah kakah sarap nah tuli khalah'.

83. SRL (17b): 'sijāte'.

SRL (17b) omits 'sikh nū'.

M4, Devagandhārī 6, AG p. 528. 85. 86.

SRL (18a): 'rakhe ki jave (rakh ke javai)'. 87. PSP (80): 'dujī sikhī pachhān aru maramī'.

M5, Gaurī Bavan Akharī 27, AG p.255.

M4, Gaurī kī vār 9:2, AG p.304. M1, Malār kī vār 21, AG p.1288.

M1, Marū Solahe 13, p. 1209. AG: 'ini dubidhā ghar bahute gāle'.

PSP (81) adds 'gilāni na hovai'.

M5, Dhanasari 24, AG p.677. 93.

94. Japji 21, AG p.4.

PSP (81-82): gurū kā sikh jo arathī āvai tisakā arath pūrī kare, aru jo nāli tinān ke hor hovan tan jatha sakati sabhanan sikhan di puja karani. us de adhikar saman.

PSP omits sections 113-116. 97.

SRL (22a): 'ghatī visāsu'. M1, Vār Mājh 21:1, AG p. 147. 98.

M1, Gauri Bairagani 18, AG p. 229. 99.

100. SRL (22b): 'guru ke sikh hase nal bhi jam akhange'.

M1 Var Āsā 12, AG p.470. 101. 102. M1, Āsā 36, AG p.359.

103. SRL (23a): 'gandhavākī'.
104. M1, Sirī Rāgu 4, AG p. 15.
105. PSP (82): 'badhi nū achhād laindā hai'.

106. SRL (23b): 'viāhu kāraj'.

107. SRL (24a): 'gurū kā sikh rahati rakhe'. PSP (82): 'jo rahit gurū kā rakhe'.

108. The GNDU text (33b) reads: 'gurū kā sikh hode bal dhaurī de boke pānī nā pīve. gurū kā sikh daiā pāle. na tate pāso jal pīve. sarabat upar'. The SRL text (24a) substantially followed this reading. The published PSP text (possibly reconstructed) reads (82): 'guru ka sikh, honde bal dhauri de boke pani na piai na turak ke pason jal piai. guru ka sikh daia pale sarabat upari. par jis daia vich ...' The PSP editor subsequently glosses 'tata' as 'turak' (PSP, p. 83n).

109. Farid, Salok 129, AG p. 1384. PSP (83) substitutes the first line of the same couplet. It then omits the next injunction and the quotation from the Krisan avatār.

110. M10, Krišan avatār 2489, DG p. 570.

111. 'turak'. See above note 108.

112. SRL (25a): 'sahaj hans'.

113. GNDU (35a) adds 'badī nāl charachā na kare'. 114. GNDU (35a) omits 'dharam'.

115. SRL (25a): 'gandhabānīa'.

116. PSP omits the portion which runs from 'age di kharachi kar lae' to 'so aisā hī phuriā

117. SRL (26a) omitted 'dan deda'.

118. Chanat Charitra ukati bilās 146, DG p. 88. M1, Vār Mārū 1:1, AG pp. 1086-87. 119.

120. Ibid., p. 1087.

121. Source not identified.

122. PSP omits the portion which runs from 'nā nindā kare' to 'tā mahil khasam kā pāusī'.

BG XXXIV:2, 123.

M1, Vār Āsā 15, AG p. 471. 124.

125. PSP (84) inserts 'nā'.

M4, Var Gaurī 8:2, AG p.303. AG: 'muthā bikhu māiā'. 126. SRL (27b): 'gurū sabad sikh hohi sikh ke'. 127.

M1, Vār Āsā 5:2 AG p. 465. 128.

M1, Dakhanī Oankār 4, AG p. 90. 129.

130. M3, Vär Bilaval 1:2, AG p. 849. 131. M3, Rāmakalī Anand 24, AG p. 920. SRL (28a): 'satigurū binā kachī sachī banī, satigurū binā hor kachī hai bānī, bānī ta kachī satigurū bājhahu hor kachī bānī, kahado kache sunade kache kafichī akhi vakhāni.'

132. M5, Asā 62, AG p. 386.

133. PSP omits 'gurū kā sikh granth sāhib jī thī pāras dos na koi'.

134. Kabir, Salok 156, AG p. 1372. AG: 'sabhai kau khāi'.

135. *PSP* omits the portion which runs from 'gurū kā sikh rahirās dā bhog pāvai tā sarab' to 'sikh nū vāhigurū jī kī phate balāe'.

136. Farid, Šalok 95, AĞ p. 1382.

137. *PSP* (84): 'vasatī'. 138. *PSP* (85): 'pakhandī'.

139. SRL (30a): 'sākh granth sāhib jī'.

140. 33 Savayye 1, DG p. 712.

- 141. M5 Sārang 113, AG p. 1226.
- 142. SRL (31a) omitted 'gair nu na kare'.

143. M5, Sārang 13, AG p. 1206.

144. M5, Āsā 43, AG p. 381.

145. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 5 (7), AG p. 269.

146. SRL (31a): 'ketī chhaţī nāli'.

147. SRL (31a) does not repeat 'vāhagurū'.

148. M5, Bilāval 58, AG p. 815.

149. M1, Dhanāsarī 7, AG p. 662. PSP (86) omits this and the seven quotations which follow it.

150. M5, Bilaval 88, AG pp. 821-22.

151. M5, Sūhī 54, AG p. 749. AG : charanadhūri'.

- 152. M1, Rāmakalī Aṣṭ. 7 (3), AG p. 906. AG: 'jā jamu dhāi kes gahi mārai surati nahī mukhi kāl gaiā'.
- 153. M5, Gūjarī Dupade 20, AG p. 500. AG: 'kes sangi dās pag jhārau ihai manorath mor'.

154. Kabir, Gond 2, AG p. 870.

- 155. Kabir, Salok 25, AG p. 1365.
- 156. M10, Akāl Ustat 252, DG p. 35. 157. SRL (32b) omitted 'sīnī bachan dī'.
- 158. PSP (86) omits 'jītanā man dā'.

159. PSP (86): 'sabad'.

160. M2, Vār Sūhī 7:3, AG p. 787.

161. PSP (87): 'hor itane siphat hon guramati-rahit hachhī hovai'.

162. PSP (87): 'sammat 1724 dās chaupā sirigh pāson sāhib guramukhī akharu puchhiā karan, uh kahe tusīn āp jān rahe ho mahārāj, jān tā rahe hān pahilī lām puchhane hān'.

163. PSP (88): 'sasatrī'.

164. SRL (36a) omitted 'paradā kar gae. turakā nū ate dusatā nū jhūthe kar māranā'.

165. PSP (88) adds 'hind di vasate'.

- 166. PSP (88) adds 'kiujo brāhamaņān dā janeū savā maņ utaran lag poae sī kasamīr mai'.
- 167. PSP (88): 'ant de same do sikh sāhibān nāl nibhe, tahil prasādi pānī dī karade dilī gae'.
 168. PSP (88): 'māgh'. This PSP reading is obviously a mistake. The PSP text subsequently gives 'maghar sudī pañchamī' as the date of Guru Tegh Bahadur's śrādh

ceremony. PSP, p. 90.

169. M10, Bachitra Nāṭak 5:15-16, DG p. 54. PSP (88) omits the second couplet.

170. PSP (88) omits the portion which runs from 'jī sache pātasāh' to 'chhibar āsāde āda sikh haini mukat hoe'. In its place it has: 'bachan hoiā nihāl hoe mukati hoe'.

171. PSP (89): 'sansakritī salokā'.

172. PSP (89): omits 'dharam sant kītī'. 'sant' should read 'sasatr'.

173. PSP (89): 'daragāh mal'.

174. PSP (90) adds 'srī mukh vāk svaiye uchāre'.

175. PSP (90): 'srādh'.

176. SRL (40a) omitted 'samundr sagar bania. duja granth ji'.

177. GNDU and SRL: 'utar'. PSP: 'autar'.

178. SRL (40b) omitted 'bhī gurū ho'.

79. SRL (40b) omitted 'sarin di' and jumbles the order of the eight words which follow them.

180. PSP (90): 'khanḍā'.

181. In place of 'ate pañj avaye paru. chaupā singh parane lagā', PSP (90-91) reads 'ate pañj pañj savaiyai pañh paran lage. kehare. dayā singh vāsī lāhaur dī chhatri bans. sāhib singh dachhani sain ke janam thā. himmat singh purī jagann nāth phandak de janam thā. dharam singh ghar hasatanāpur dī vāsī dhanne ke janam thā. pañjaven muhakam singh namadev ke janam tha. ih pañj singh savaiye lage paran'.

182. In place of 'bachan hoa ... sanumukh jai khalota PSP (91) reads: 'ticharan nu mata

sakatī mātā sāhib devi dā rūp dhār ke patāse vich dār gai'.

183. Chandī charitra ukati bilās 231, DG p. 99.

184. În place of 'prathame pahul chaupă singh nu diti panjan' PSP (91) reads: 'panjan singhan nu amrit chakaia'.

185. PŠP (91): 'bachan hoiā inān pāsahun chhako. nām singhān de'.

186. M1, Japji 16, AG p. 3.

187. PSP (91): 'nānv ethe āi kar singh rakhaņā'.

188. *PSP* (91): 'sabh'. 189. *PSP* (92): 'holī'.

190. SRL omitted sections 185-246 inclusive.

191. M1, Vār Āsā 22, AG p. 474. AG: 'khasamai kare barābarī phiri gairati andari paī. vajahu gavāe agalā muhe muhi pāņā khāi'.

192. PŠP (92): 'hathan da sakhī hovai'.

193. PSP omits the remainder of section 193 and sections 194-280 inclusive.

194. M10, Bachitra Nāţak 6:30, DG p. 57. Cf. Bansāvalī-nāmā 10:165.

195. Ibid 6:29, DG p. 57 Number 204 appears twice in the text.

196. Ibid 14:5, DG p. 73. Although the text records only the third and fourth lines of verse 5 the context suggests that the narrator must also have had the first two lines in mind.

197. Ibid 6:32, *DG* p. 57. 198. Ibid 6:60, *DG* p. 59.

199. Numbers 212 and 213 are missing in the text.

200. DG p. 716.

201. M1, Sirī Ragū Ast 5 (6), AG p. 56. AG: 'padit vāchahi'.

202. M5, Salok Sahaskritī 65, AG p. 1360.

203. M1, Sirī Ragū kī Vār 7:2, AG p. 85. AG: 'rīsā karih tinārīā'.

204. *DG* pp. 716-17.

205. DG p. 717. 206. DG p. 717.

207. M1, Vār Mājh 7:2, AG p. 141.

8. M5, Phunahe 8, AG p. 1362.

209. M10, Akāl Ustat, Invocation, DG p. 11.

210. Source not identified.

211. M1, Salok vārān te vadhīk 12, AG p. 1411.

212. SRL (44b): 'phail phakar jo vikār so na kare'.
213. M1, Vār Mājh 16, AG p. 145.

214. M4, Vār Gauŗī 15:3, AG p. 309. 215. M5, Sorath 12, AG pp. 611-12.

216. Ibid., p. 612.

217. M5, Sorath 49, AG pp. 620-21.

218. There is no section numbered 266.
219. M5, Āsā Chhant 11 (1), AG p. 460.

20. M1, Rāmakalī Dakhaṇī Oankār 27, AG p. 933.

221. The PSP text (93) rejoins GNDU/SRL at this point.

222. SRL (54b): 'manne'.

- 223. M3, Vār Vaḍahans 21:1, AG p. 594.
 224. M5, Gauṛī Sukhamanī 18:1, AG p. 286.
- 225. There are no sections numbered 283 or 284.

- 226. *PSP* (93): 'vairu'.
- 227. PSP (93): 'sabad gavaņe-parhane vale'.
- 228. PSP (93): 'jo sikh granth sāhib jī de pās prasādi liāvai, ate dharamasālīā antar dhar lag, varatāe nāhī lobh karake, so bhī'.
- 229. PSP (94). GNDU and SRL both omit section 293. GNDU attaches the number 291 to the preceding section in place of 292. In the SRL text, however, it was numbered 292 and this is confirmed by the PSP sequence.
- 230. SRL (56a): 'pakā tanakhāhīā'. 231. PSP (94) adds 'pangati vich'.
- 232. PSP (94) adds par adab adhikār dekh kari kare. prasādi vich vadh ghat nā karai'.
- 233. SRL (56a): 'sāphā'. PSP (94): 'paradā'.
- 234. PSP (94). GNDU and SRL both omit section 298.
- 235. PSP (94) omits this offence.
- 236. SRL (56b) added 'srī vāhagurū japadī rahe bahidā uṭhadā sās sās vīchār na kare. ehu sikhī dī rīt dhārane jog hai sikh ko.'
- 237. PSP (94) omits this offence.
- 238. PSP (94): 'parade'.
- 239. SRL (57a) and PSP (94): 'phatakāre'.
 240. PSP (94): 'jo sikh sikh nū bura ākhe krodh nāl so tanakhāhīā'.
- 241. SRL (57a): 'dhakā'.
- 242. SRL (57a): 'lae'.
- 243. *PSP* omits this offence.
- 244. PSP omits this offence.
- 245. SRL (57b) omitted 'lare'.
- 246. GNDU (102a): 'vahil'.
- 247. SRL (57b): 'jo sikharathī sikh vāsīā vālīā nū dukhāe', PSP (95): 'jo arathī sikhān nū vāsā vālī dukhāe'.
- 248. GNDÙ (102b): 'jo sirī sāhib kau langhe'.
- 249. PSP (95) inserts an additional injunction: 'aurana ko upades kare tanakhāhia'.
- 250. SRL (58b): 'pith pichhe pāe'.
 251. GNDU (103b): 'vir ke'.
- 252. SRL omitted this injunction.
- 253. *PSP* (96) adds 'jāpajī'.
- 254. PSP (96): 'gilī-sukī kachh pāi lae. kachh de paunche da sikh visāh nā kare'.
- 255. SRL (59b): 'nārī'.
- 256. M4, Vär Gaurī 15:1, AG p. 308.
- 257. SRL (60a): 'sula na kare'.
- 258. SRL (60b): 'khūnī khatāvālā'.
- 259. PSP omits this offence.
- 260. SRL (60b): 'nirādar'.
- 261. SRL omitted this offence.
- 262. SRL (61a) and PSP (97): 'isanān'.
- 263. SRL omitted this offence.
- 264. PSP (97): 'jo sikh parāī isatrī de ghari jāi harāmī karai'.
 265. PSP omits this offence.
- 266. SRL omitted this offence. 267. SRL (61b) omitted 'path charachā'.
- 268. *PSP* (98) adds 'basatr'.
- 269. SRL (62A) omitted 'malechhanī' and 'malechh'.
- 270. GNDU (110b): 'nātar so bhī'.
- 271. M4, Gaurī Pūrbī 4, AG p. 13.
- 272. SRL omitted this offence.
- 273. SRL (62b): 'sravar mārī pūjan jāe'.
- 274. GNDU (111b): 'ada'.
- 275. GNDU (111b): 'binā suchet kīte'. PSP (99) omits this offence.
 276. SRL (63a): 'jo kesadhārī dandā nāl darī tuke so tanakhāhīā. kaichī mochanā lāe so tanakhāhīa.

- 277. SRL (64a): 'jo sikh sikh nū prasādi kahake mulāhaje vāleā ko bulāe su tanakhāhīā. garīb nū nā sade so tanakhāhīā.'
- 278. PSP (100): 'jo garīb hoikai mašakarā hovai tis nū mat deņī nāhīn'.
 - SRL (64a) omitted 'murakh hovai'.
- 279. M1, Var Majh 12:2, AG, p. 143.
- 280. BG XXXIV. 21.
- 281. M4, Sārang Dupadā 7, AG p. 1200.
- 282. SRL (65a) omitted this offence.
- 283. M5, Sārang, 113, AG p. 1226.
- 284. PSP (101): "sirand vale khatrī ate chandūśāhī khatrī.
- 285. *PSP* (101).
- 286. SRL (65b): 'so bhalā tanakhāhīā'.
- 287. PSP (101) omits this offence.
- 288. PSP (101): 'jo mañje ute bahe ate sabad sunake hethān nā bahe yā paran vāle nū pās bahāvai nāhī so tanakhāhīā. SRL (66a) omitted this offence.
- 289. PSP (101): jo sikh gur dohī bār bār sabad vich galān kare so tanakhāhīā. SRL (66a) omitted this offence.
- 290. SRL (67b) omitted this offence.
- 291. SRL (67b): 'turak'. PSP (103) omits this offence.
- 292. PSP (103): 'chhanake'.
- 293. SRL (68a): 'an de khetr vich'.
- 294. GNDU (121a): 'khāve'. PSP (103): 'jo sikh, biradh athavā sūrame singh nū prasād khavavane lage, ate (pakhi) jhal kari na khavae, so tanakhahia.'
- 295. SRL (68b): 'dhil lae'.
- 296. SRL (68b): 'sir pāe'. PSP (103): 'bheḍān dā dudh-dahīn khāe'.
- 297. Farid, Salok 130, AG p. 1384.
- 298. *RL* (68b); 'ate kāṇā andaro'.
- 299. PSP (103): 'jo sikh āp sansār dī kān vich varate ate baharon mukatā sadāe so kūrā tanakhāhīá.'
- 300. Source not located.
- 301. PSP (104) omits this offence.
- 302. PSP (104): 'chhakāvaņe vālā'.
- 303. The PSP text (104) includes a brief section which the GNDU/SRL text lacks.
- 304. PSP (104-5): 'brāhamaṇān nūn age biṭhāle te pāchhe sikhān nūn baiṭhāle so tanakhāhīā.'
- 305. PSP (105): 'jo sikh jāņake pangati brāhaman khā jāe te magaron jā khāve so tanakhāhīā.'
- 306. PSP (105): 'hath jor ke bhul-chuk bakhasāi lae nahī ta tānakhāhīā rahegā'.
- 307. PSP (105): 'no deve'.
- 308. Kabir, Gond 11, AG p. 873.
- 309. PSP (105): 'karad-bheta'.
- 310. PSP (105): 'paṇ likhan vālā dhoi ke sukāvaṇi dī thā mukāvaṇī ākhe so tanakhāhīā'. SRL (70b) omitted this offence.
- 311. For this and several of the remaining offences the SRL copyist used the abbreviated forms 'sut' or 'sutan' in place of 'su (so) tanakhāhīā'.
- 312. *PSP* (106) adds 'thake hoe'.
- 313. PSP (106): 'namasakār kare'.
- 314. M10, Jap 184, DG p. 10. SRL and PSP both omit this quotation.
- 315. SRL (71a) omitted this offence.
- 316. PSP (106) omits this offence.
- 317. PSP (106): 'beprajojan kutte nun soță vațță măre'.
 318. PSP (106) omits this offence.
- 319. SRL (71b) omitted this offence. 320. SRL (71b) omitted this offence.
- 321. SRL (71b) omitted this offence.
- 322. PSP (106) omits this offence.

323. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 16 (7) and 23 (5), AG pp. 284, 294. 324. M1, Salok vārān te vadhīk 33, AG p. 1412. SRL omitted both quotations.

325. SRL omitted the latter portion of 537, from 'ate muhabat' onwards. 326. PSP (107): 'baith'. SRL omitted this offence.

327. SRL (72a): 'suchet baithā'.
328. M1, Vār Āsā 12, AG p. 470. See section 117.

329. M1, $\bar{A}s\bar{a}$ 36, AG p. 359. See section 118.

330. SRL (72b) omitted this offence. 331. SRL (72b) omitted this offence.

332. GNDU (130a): 'dharā'.

333. M1, Āsā Kāfī Āst 13:(1), AG p. 418. 334. M1, Dhanāsarī 2, AG p. 660. SRL and PSP both omit this quotation.

335. PSP (108) omits this injunction.

336. PSP (108): 'gurū kī sikhanī granth sāhib pothī paran sikhe tān parakritā sansārī tiāg deve. so kaun parakritan - git tappe gavane masakaria gandi zaban na kare. apane dharam parain rahe. kahe te. jo apana dharam kalian karata hai. buri isatri nal ekali baili kari galān nā karai.

337. GNDU (132a): 'katā'. PSP (108): 'bharatā'.

338. M4, Gaurī Guāreri 41 (1), AG p. 164. See above note 39.

339. PSP (108) adds 'chaunke vich jai'.

340. SRL (74b) omitted 'baiā gurū kā lae' and 'satisangati binā'.

341. Kabir, Bhairau 9 (1), AG p. 1159.

342. The GNDU/SRL text here repeats by mistake the injunction 'ate bharate nu karata kar jānaņā'. Cf ChS 556.

343. SRL (75b) omitted 'thagā chorā kīkhanā de, dekhan nū sikh karam.' PSP (109): 'dekhane nu sikh ate karam chora thagga de ate malechha de.'

344. SRL (75b) omitted 'dekhan nü sikh karam sakata de'.

345. GNDU (136b): 'visasughātī'.

346. SRL (75b) omitted 'janāhī' and 'dhāravī'.
347. M1, Salok vārāri te vadhīk 12, AG p. 1411.

348. M10, Bachitra Nāṭak 6, DG p. 57.

349. GNDU (77b) and PSP (111) add: 'ih purakh da raula bhi hai'.

350. PSP (112) adds 'so bahut unhān āpaņī ap lakhāiā nahī, ate kuchh sagar vich bhī haini,

351. This should presumably read 'murid'.

352. PSP (113-15) omits section 588 and substitutes a much longer passage. See English translation note 461.

353. GNDU (147b); 'rāsī'.

354. PSP (115): 'sammat 1763'.

355. M1, Vār Āsā 20:2, AG p. 473. AG: 'dekhane vichāri'.

356. SRL (83a) omitted 'sāhib de bachan mūjab' and substituted 'dharam mrijādā chalasī'.

357. SRL (83b): 'kachhā'.

358. M1, Var Malar 23:2, AG p. 1288. This quotation has been added in the margin of GNDU (152a)

359. M5, Vār Jaitasarī 10:1, AG p. 708.

360. Ibid.

361. Kabir, Sorath 9, AG p. 656.

362. GNDU and PSP lack raj vahiguru ka samajh ke seva isat ki rakhani.

363. M1, Tilang 5, AG p. 722.

364. PSP (117): 'jo sarabat vich main han ate khalasa mera hai. mera guru khalasa hai.'

365. In the text the number follows 'so panth vasate'. 366. M3, Vār Mārū 9, AG p. 1089.

367. M5, Sūhī 41, AG p. 745.

- 368. M4, Var Sorath 16, AG p. 648. In the text the section number 610 follows this
- 369. See English translation note 497. 370. M1, Var Mājh 16:1, AG p. 145.

371. M1, Salok vārān te vadhīk 15, AG p. 1411.

Ibid. 373. Ibid.

374. Ibid.

375. M10, Bachitra Nātak 6:56, DG p. 58.

M1, Salok vārān te vadhīk 22, AG p. 1412. M1, Vār Mājh 7:2, AG p. 141.

M1, Vār Sūhī 13:2, AG p. 789. Kabir, Gaurī Chetī 44, AG p. 332.

M1, Rāmakalī Ast 1 (3), AG p. 902.

381. Nihakalankī Avatār 141, DG p. 581. SRL (91a) quoted only four words. GNDU (155b) quotes four lines.

382. M10, Akāl Ustat 6:76, DG p. 18. PSP (121) omits the material which runs from the conclusion of this quotation to the end of section 638.

manavanu'.

The text omits numbers 623-628.

M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 16 (2), AG p. 284.

M10, $J\bar{a}p$ 1:1, DG p.1 SRL (93a) quoted only these five words. GNDU (170a-b) extends the quotation to six lines.

GNDU (171b) here inserts an obscure one-line quotation.

M1, Vadahans 3, AG p. 558.

Source not identified.

M1, Āṣā Aṣṭ 15 (7), AG p. 419.

M1, Asa Ast 12 (3), AG p. 417.

The PSP text of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā concludes at this point.

393. M5, Vār Mārū 7, AG p. 1096.

Kabitt Bhāi Gurdās 503.

M5, Bavan Akharī 52:1, AG p. 261.

396. GNDU (176a): 'upades'. 397. SRL (96a): 'sant mahant'.

398. M10, Bachitra Nāṭak 13:11, DG p. 71.

399. Nihakalankī Avatār 68, DG p. 575.

400. Pakhyān Charitra 405: 396, DG p. 1387.

Nand Lal Rahit-nama

401. PSP (48) omits 'mati gurū kī laiņī'.

402. SRL (97a): 'usatrā nahī lāvaņā'.

403. GNDU (196b) and PSP (48): 'prasadi'.

404. SRL (98a): 'singh'.

405. SRL (98b): 'khoṭī'. PSP (49): 'kuhatrī'.

SRL (99a): 'ikādasī dā brat rakhe tā lakh brahaman nū jivāvānu phal hotā hai. ate lakh gaŭ pun kare ta bhi barobar pun nahi.'

407. *PSP* (49): 'sau guṇā'.

408. The first line appears to be a misquoted version of M4, Asã Chhant 9, AG p. 444. The second line is a misquoted version of M4, Nat Nārāin Ast 4 (5), AG p.982. The complete Nat Nārāin couplet appears in a misquoted form below.

409. The portion of the text from 'jo gurabhai nu' to 'sabhe kam ras hoe' appears at a later point in the PSP text (50-51). The material incorporated in this portion is recorded in a different order in the PSP version.

410. SRL (99b) added: 'kalayan hovaigi'.

411. SRL (100a): 'bhed chāl kiā hai jo aukhī jāgā āvadī hai tā dukhī hokar kise kise ko mänate han.'

PSP (50): 'kiā jo aukhī ghaţī āvadī hai tā bhedā dā iyaţu jādā nahī.'

412. SRL (100b): aval datan karai'. 413. PSP (49) inserts 'aradas pavai'.

414. PSP (50): khāvaņā'.

415. SRL (101a) added 'ate kalajug mahā prabak hai'.

416. GNDU (203b): 'na manaiga'.

417. Source not identified.

418. PSP (51): 'sabh kāraj es ke sidh hoe. kiujo guramukhī bāt aisī hai. ate manamukhī bāl auru bahut hai.'

Source not identified. 419.

420. M4, Naț Nārāin Ast 4 (5), AG p. 982.

SRL (102b): 'vāhigurū jī'.

422. PSP (51): 'lāhā'.

423. PSP (71) adds: 'vadī mān kari dekhanī, hān dī bhain kar dekhanī.'

424. GNDU (206a) inserts 'ai kal tirī srovat ladīdī ko kar vīchār'. PSP (51): 'aju kali terī dhok ladīdī hai dekh kar bīchār'.

425. SRL (103b) omitted the salutation.

- 426. PSP (52): jo sikh gurū kā hovai so sabad mannai, gurū khālasā is thīn sivāi horu pratīti nahīn karanī.'
- 427. The PSP text (52) terminates at this point.

THE RAHIT-NAMA OF CHAUPA SINGH

By the grace of the Eternal One, the True Guru

The text which follows is the Rahit [or pattern of conduct] prescribed by the Satguru. What is the Rahit? The Granth Sahib tells us:1

If one follows the Rahit that disease [which is separation from God]

progressively diminishes.2

The prescription which is followed in order to remedy this disease is called the Rahit. The Granth Sahib also declares:

The true Rahit resides within the man which is true.3

Such is the Rahit which the Guru prescribes. As the Granth Sahib testifies:

He who observes this Rahit dwells in God's presence.4

And so he who would be a Gursikh⁵ must earnestly study the Rahit, this Rahit which brings joy to the Guru. [He must study it and he must also practise it.] One of the Sants in the Granth Sahib [warns us]:

I have observed how (many people] talk endlessly [of pious deeds], but there is no joy to be

derived from their actual conduct (rahit).6

There are many who claim to be Gurmukhs⁷, but very few have actually laid hold of the Guru's Rahit. A Gursikh, however, must study the Rahit and keep it always in mind.

1. In the early morning the Gursikh, whether Kes-dhari or Sahaj-dhari8, should bathe or [at least] perform the five ablutions. Let him then recite Japji five times. According to Guru Ram Das he who recites Japji five times will acquire the radiance of [true] enlightenment. Thereafter let him recite whatever $b\bar{a}n\bar{i}^{10}$ he may know by heart. Having completed this recitation he should join his palms¹¹ and recite Ardas. ¹² He should then proceed to the dharamsala ¹³ and join the congregation ¹⁴ of Sikhs. Let him take whatever he can afford [as an offering. There] he should prostrate himself 15 and make an offering of flowers, fruit, a coin or a cowrie.

2. The Gursikh should then turn to whatever daily occupation is appropriate to the status conferred on him by the Guru (vāhagurū). 16 When it is time to eat give a portion of your food to someone else, as you are able to afford. Invite another Sikh to sit with you in the place where you prepare your food [and share whatever you have with him]. This is what the Guru means when he says in the Granth Sahib:

He who earns his living and gives some to others, he, Nanak, is the man who has found the true path.17

3. At dusk the Guru's Sikh should participate in the Sodar Rahirās. 18 If he cannot visit a dharamsala he should recite [Sodar Rahirās] at his own residence. After he has had his evening meal he should proceed to a dharamsala and share in evening worship with the congregation of Sikhs [gathered there]. He should sit [with them] to hear the scriptures expounded and to join in kirtan and religious discourse. 19 The Granth Sahib declares:

[Remembrance of God] during the first watch of the night is [like the fragrance of] flowers, and during the last watch of the night [like the sweetness of] fruit. He who remains awake shall receive the blessing of God.²⁰

- 4. The Gursikh should then return home. If he is a married man he should not have sexual relations with his wife during either the first or the last watch [of the night]. Between [the first and the last] there are two which can be used for pleasure.
- 5. During the last [watch] of the night he should arise, clean his teeth, 21 and bathe or [at least]

perform the five ablutions. If he has had sexual relations he must certainly bathe, using either cold or hot water.²² [Under such circumstances the five ablutions are insufficient.] Then let him lovingly recite the works of the Guru. As the Granth Sahib says:

During the fourth watch [of the night, in the early hours] of the morning a longing surges within the spirit. Affections turn to rivers [where, bathing in the early-morning waters, the pious find that] truth enters their understanding and the words [which they utter in praise of God].²³

- 6. A Gursikh should have no dealings with members of the five reprobate groups.²⁴ He should not even speak to any of them. [The five reprobate groups are]: (i) The Minas. (ii) The followers of Ram Rai. (iii) The followers of Dhir Mal. (iv) The Masands. (v) Those who acknowledge the authority of the Masands.²⁵ It is true that some of these five reprobate groups are members of the Guru's own family. [In spite of their relationship to him they have become his enemies], evil men who spread vicious slander. Trees which produce flowers, fruit, leaves and [healthy] branches also produce thorns.²⁶ These [reprobate relatives] are the thorns [on the Guru's tree].
- 7. A Gursikh should not drink intoxicating liquor. As the Granth Sahib says: He who drinks dislodges his reason and becomes demented. Losing all power of distinguishing his own rights from another's he is chastised by the Master. He who drinks becomes heedless of his Master and thus when he appears in [his Master's] court he must suffer the punishment [which is his due]. As far as you are able avoid all contact with the wine of falsehood.²⁷
- [7a. (There are five companions which the Gursikh should spurn and) five which he should embrace: kachh, $kirap\bar{a}n$, kes, the sacred scripture $(b\bar{a}n\bar{\iota})$, and the congregation of the faithful $(s\bar{a}dh\ sangat)$. If a Gursikh has the opportunity to deal in tobacco he should reject it. A Gursikh, even though he be a Sahaj-dhari, should neither smoke tobacco nor take snuff.]²⁸
- 8. A Gursikh should wash his hands and his feet before eating. He should rinse his mouth by gargling and then proceed to the kitchen (langar). He should show respect to his food [as to a gift of the Guru] and he should not talk while eating. If anyone comes while he is eating he should not stand up. Before he begins to eat he should pronounce [the blessing]: 'Satnam Vahiguru.' It is the Giver of Life who bestows food [on us and because it is His gift our] sustenance should be treated with the same [respect] as the Guru.
- 9. As the Granth Sahib says, 'Food is the Creator's gift.'30
- 10. A Gursikh should never touch a Muslim woman. ³¹ He should never become friendly with a Muslim, nor should he ever trust his word. Never drink water from the hands of a Muslim and do not sleep in the company of Muslims. Never trust the oath of a Muslim. Do not be influenced by opinions uttered by a Muslim, nor by his speech or conversation. When seated in any gathering do not eat the food of Muslims. Whenever [Sikhs] gather to eat together they should sit in a single line. Bear in mind that Muslims have no respect for the religious obligation [acknowledged by Hindus and Sikhs, neither for] caste nor for the cow. The command of the Gurus is 'Fight the barbarians (malechh), destroy them all !'³²
- 11. A Gursikh should not stare at another's wife, and he should [certainly] never have intercourse with any woman other [than his own wife].³³ Let him get married. Let him do so according to the custom of his caste and lineage so that no stigma may be attached to his name and no one speak ill of him.
- 12. A Gursikh should not kill female babies. Have nothing to do with a Sikh who slays female infants $(kur\bar{\imath}-m\bar{a}r)$. 34
- 13. Do not exact a price for [your own] daughter [when she is given in marriage, and accept

- nothing when the daughter of a dependent is wed.] As the Granth Sahib says:

 Regard the daughter of a jajmān as your own, for if you consume the grain [proffered by her father the opportunity of salvation afforded by] your birth will be forfeited.³⁵
- 14. This pronouncement was delivered to a Brahman (purohit). Parents who thus demand [a bride-price] will go inexorably to hell.
- 15. A Gursikh should not give his daughter [in marriage] to a man who has his hair cut $(mon\bar{a})$, ³⁶ though he may take a girl [for a marriage arrangement in his family] from a $mon\bar{a}$ [father. ³⁷ In such instances the girl] should receive initiation.
- 16. [A marriage may be contracted with a $mon\bar{a}$ if he agrees to accept initiation, with its attendant obligations, before marriage.] Have the Sikh girl and her Sahaj-dhari [bridegroom] join their hands in marriage³⁸ and then initiate them³⁹[as follows]. Wash the Granth Sahib lectern [with water] in which confectionery has been dissolved. Recite five stanzas of $Japj\bar{i}$, followed by five stanzas of the Anand, ⁴⁰ and give them buttermilk to drink.⁴¹
- 17. A Gursikh should have business dealings only with other Sikhs. He should associate only with those who [in belief and behaviour] are sound beyond all reproach. The Granth Sahib testifies:

Lay hold of [Him who is] the origin [of all truth]; associate only with those who have similarly [apprehended Him]. 42

- 18. A Gursikh should associate with poor Sikh[s for thus] he binds himself to the Guru.
- 19. A Kes-dhari should never pour strained water on his head.⁴³
- 20. A Gursikh should not observe the custom of wearing a sacred thread or a frontal sect-mark $(tikk\bar{a})$. The Kes-dhari's sacred thread and tikka are his kes. For a Sahaj-dhari, [however, the practice] is acceptable. He may do as he chooses.
- 21. If a Gursikh arranges a marriage [for his daughter] the person whom she is to marry may wear the sacred thread during the marriage ceremony [if that has been his custom] and then subsequently remove it at some convenient time.
- 22. A Gursikh should render service to other Sikhs with all his heart and without hesitation.
- 23. The Gursikh should regard a pauper's mouth as the Guru's alms-box.
- 24. Any Gursikh who is a Brahman should receive twice the service [and consideration that other Sikhs receive. He who renders such service] shall earn a double reward. A like status should also be bestowed on the religious teacher⁴⁴ who comes to expound the Guru's teachings.
- 25. If for any reason a Gursikh is in distress he should arise during the last watch of the night and complete five recitations of $Japj\bar{\iota}$. He should look to the Guru $(v\bar{a}hagur\bar{u})$ [and proceeding to the dharamsala he should offer his petition to him] in the sympathetic presence of [his fellow] Sikhs. 45 Let him provide whatever service 46 he is able to offer [to the dharamsala and the sangat, and he will find that] the Guru grants him peace. The Granth Sahib says:

When a Gursikh has food to eat the Satguru shares the satisfaction.⁴⁷
This is the Guru's [own] testimony. He who provides for [the needs of other] Sikhs brings joy to the Guru.

26. And so when the Satguru finds joy in the satisfaction [which comes from the service of a Sikh] how can [that Sikh's] distress continue?

- 27. If a Gursikh recognises [and responds to the needs of another] Gursikh [his benevolence], like seed sown in fertile ground, will bring him his reward.
- 28. He should not sow in polluted soil. The testimony of a Sant is: How can one reap a profit from seed sown in saline soil?⁴⁸
- 29. The Granth Sahib also says:

He who is still confused at heart should not be regarded as a true renunciant, and he who gives to him, Nanak, shares in the same confusion. 49

30. And again:

The Khatri who recognises the right field and sows his seed therein is the one who wins approval in [his Master's] court. 50

The fields which this Khatri must cultivate are those which grow the produce of sin [or the fruits of virtue]. The Gursikh must harvest [these fields]. He should therefore consider the difference between good and bad crops, between good and bad places [to grow them], because the state of his mind and understanding must depend on the food which he eats. A devout Sikh should not accept an invitation [to dine with] an apostate (patit) Sikh. As the Granth Sahib

[Hypocritical Muslims] repeat their daily prayers though they consume other men's sustenance: [and hypocritical Hindus] who wield a [butcher's] knife [piously] wear their sacred thread. Brahmans who [sanctimoniously] sound the conch-shell in their houses, are nevertheless victims of the same [crass] appetites [as those who are unashamedly worldly].51

- 31. A Gursikh should not associate with the following eight [kinds of people] and should not accept their teachings.
 - (i) Muslims⁵²
 - (ii) Yogis⁵³
 - (iii) Those who do not wear turbans⁵⁴ (iv) Those who shave their heads⁵⁵

 - (v) Mendicants who mat their hair in coarse tresses⁵⁶
 - (vi) Naked sadhus who coat themselves with ashes 57
 - (vii) Fagirs⁵⁸
 - (viii) Those who [arrogantly] assume spiritual authority⁵⁹

Such people will instruct you in their own [false] beliefs and destroy [the truth which, as a Sikh], you previously held.

32. If a Gursikh serves as a pujārī [in a dharamsala]⁶⁰ he should take nothing from those who are descendants of the Guru[s]⁶¹ and he should steal [from no one. If he does] he will completely corrupt his own mind and understanding. He should never be arrogant, deceitful, or wanton. He should never be lustful nor prone to anger, neither a slanderer nor one puffed up with pride. The Granth Sahib says:

All manner of medicine can be prepared, but what cure can there be for the slanderer?62

The Granth Sahib also savs:

Be not deceitful, heedless man, for in the end your spirit must render an account [of your deeds].63 [He should, however, receive his due support.] Any functionary [appointed to serve in a dharamsala] is entitled to receive a portion of the offerings [made there].

34. A Gursikh should not assume such titles as Bhai⁶⁴ or Mahant.⁶⁵ The Granth Sahib says: He who claims virtue for himself is the person whom virtue shuns,66 Do not be a hypocrite.

- 35. It is pride, arrogance, and hypocrisy of this sort which has destroyed the masands.
- 36. If any Gursikh should be in a position to provide help or advice he should ensure that young Sikhs are guided to the ways of the devout, not into futile or irresponsible behaviour. The Granth Sahib warns:

He who fences [stolen goods] shall have his hands cut off, for thus is justice administered.67

37. When a Gursikh sits down with other [Sikhs they constitute a sangat and] their conversation should concern the teachings of the Guru. The Granth Sahib says:

Wherever the community of believers gathers, there God is praised in song and poetry.⁶⁸

38. A Gursikh, whether Kes-dhari or Sahai-dhari, should never abandon his own Guru and follow another, however exalted the other may seem to be. Whenever some other [guru] offers advice or instruction [the Gursikh] should remember [his real loyalty], regardless of whether the other's teachings seem true or false. The Granth Sahib says:

Ignore the Salguru and all manner of disease must spread. 69

39. A Gursikh should never cause another Sikh distress. A Sikh [who is present] can inflict greater harm than the [absent] Guru. [As the Guru] says in the Granth Sahib:

He whom I bind can be freed by a bhagat, but he who is bound by a bhagat even I cannot free. 70

- 40. A Gursikh must be benevolent and sympathetic [towards all] when he enters a dharamsala, 71 filled with a spirit of generosity and never with meanness. He should not be the kind of person who continues to accumulate wealth [without thought for the needs of others].
- 41. A Gursikh should reverence and worship (pūjā kare) [his] sword. The Guru himself worshipped [his sword and his followers ought therefore to do likewise].
- 42. Before eating a meal a Gursikh should set aside [a portion of the food as] an offering [to the Gurul.
- 43. Whenever a Gursikh makes offerings or observes a holy day in honour of the Guru he should do so humbly and without ostentation. Do not demean yourself or act in an absurd manner. The Granth Sahib says:

If you seek for yourself that which is good perform deeds of charity and assume a lowly name. 73

44. The ordinary Gursikh should never be a prey to fear, lust, pride, avarice, or violence. He should not cherish wordly things, and he should always be in complete control of his temper. The Granth Sahib says:

Violence, worldly affections, avarice and anger are four streams of fire. Fall into them, and you shall be consumed, Nanak. Salvation is by the Satguru's grace. 74

45. [For a funeral the following procedure should be observed.] Although a [deceased] Gursikh may have been a Sahaj-dhari his head should not be shaved [after death]. When the death occurs of a relative who is a Sikh arrange for kirtan to be sung. Take as much prasad⁷⁵ as you can afford [to the residence of the deceased] and distribute it there after washing [the corpse]. Let there be no lamentation. Perform whatever rites you deem appropriate. The ashes of the deceased for should be deposited in the Ganga. That and kirtan should continue for as many days as [the family of the deceased] can afford. [Let them continue] for eleven, thirteen, fifteen or seventeen days. Arrange for the Granth Sahib to be read [at a pace which will bring] a complete reading to an end [9] [on whatever day the family can afford]. Perform the customary rites and make charitable offerings as convention dictates. Invite others to gather in memory of the deceased and provide food for as many Sikhs as you are able to afford.80 Have prayer offered, beseeching that the deceased may dwell in the company of the [departed] faithful.

- 46. After [a year has passed] a Gursikh should hold a $\hat{s}r\bar{a}dh$ ceremony⁸¹ and serve food [in memory of his deceased father]. If the deceased was a Sikh the food should be given to Sikhs. Give gifts to the steward of the dharamsala.
- 47. In memory of the deceased a meal should be served to the dharamsala steward and to needy Sikhs.
- 48. From the proceeds of his labours let the Gursikh put aside a tenth part for the Guru and use it to feed other Sikhs for the sake of the Guru.
- 49. A poor Sikh once laid a petition before the divine and all-powerful Guru [Gobind Singh, saying]: 'My Lord, I have arranged a marriage for my daughter [and must now face the expense involved in having the marriage performed]. You know my financial circumstances. [I have nothing].'
- 50. 'With whom have you arranged the marriage?' asked [the Guru]. 'With a Sikh,' he answered.
- 51. [Hearing this the Guru] instructed his treasurer, Dharam Chand, to go [to his treasury] and make payment of the expenses incurred by the marriage ceremony. Dharam Chand did as he was commanded and the marriage expenses were thus met from the [Guru's] exchequer. The Sikh had asked for nothing more [than the amount required to perform his daughter's marriage and because he showed no greed] he received all that he needed from the Guru's resources.
- 52. A Gursikh should not give others food which he has himself already tasted.
- 53. A Gursikh may remove his [body] hair with scissors if he is a Sahaj-dhari, but he must leave his facial hair untouched. [Do not touch the face] because that is what people see [and that is how a man is recognised as a Sikh].
- 54. A Kes-dhari Gursikh should never remove his body hair and [both Kes-dhari and Sahaj-dhari] should leave their pubic hair untouched if living as family men (grahast). Do not let [your hair] remain filthy.
- 55. If a Gursikh comes into conflict with another Sikh in his business dealings or for any other reason he should seek the other's forgiveness before sleeping.
- 56. If a Gursikh vows to donate anything in return for the divine granting of a favour he should duly discharge his vow, paying as much as he is able and withholding nothing.⁸³
- 57. A Gursikh should neither criticise another Sikh nor quarrel with him, and he should be neither deceitful nor mean. If he observes that the other has a [satisfying] occupation, that he is prospering and that his family [is in happy circumstances] he should be pleased, not [jealously] upset. As the Granth Sahib says:

Let me spurn envy, turning instead to deeds of goodness.84

58. He who harbours slanderous intent will be exposed, destroying [by his infamy] whatever merit he may previously have earned.⁸⁵

Nothing can redeem the slanderer!86

- 59. A Gursikh should never divulge another's secrets, nor should he betray another's trust.87
- 60. When a son is born in a Gursikh's house the first thing to pass his lips (gurati) should be

water of initiation sanctified by the feet of five Sikhs. 88 Until he has been [thus dedicated as one who is to be] a Gursikh he should not be publicly displayed.

- 61. If he is to be brought up as a Kes-dhari the rite of sword-baptism⁸⁹ should be administered as soon as the mother has completed her period of post-natal impurity.⁹⁰ His hair should be left uncut from birth. Let him be given a name from the Granth Sahib. Having performed the ceremony bathe [the child] in curds.⁹¹
- 62. A Gursikh should not fight or scuffle with another person, [for in so doing he may sully and defile his kes]. Ensure that the dignity of your kes is protected.
- 63. A Gursikh should not eat by himself when he has plenty of food. He should share it with other Sikhs.
- 64. The person who prepares a hand-written volume [of the Granth Sahib] should not do so in order to sell it. Accept whatever may be offered [but do not tout it as merchandise]. When things are sold [the transaction is a commercial one and] any personal relationship [between vendor and purchaser] is destroyed. He should accept with gladness [whatever he is given, just as the donor] should give with gladness. The Granth Sahib declares:

A curse on those who write the divine Name and sell it [for profit]. If one's field is laid waste what hope is there of harvesting grain? 92

65. A Gursikh should be strictly loyal to his own dharma and should not endeavour to follow another's [way]. 93 The Granth Sahib tells [us]:

Recognise none save the Guru!94

66. A Gursikh should never be remiss in rendering assistance to anyone [in need]. Let respect, kindness and love abound. [True] learning will produce this [happy condition]. As the Granth Sahib says:

Meditate on [true] knowledge and you will become a benefactor [of all mankind].95

- 67. If within a Gursikh's village some other Sikh is to be involved in a ceremony [either] as a bridegroom at a wedding or [as eldest son at his father's] funeral, that Gursikh should instruct [the young man] in the Guru's teachings. This he should do prior to the giving of gifts⁹⁶ [in the case of a marriage] and prior to the turban ceremony⁹⁷ [in the case of a funeral].
- 68. If a Sikh of the Guru is able to act as a scribe he should copy the Granth Sahib and present the volume to the Sikhs [of his locality]. Let it be an offering of love, [not a task performed for money].

Beautiful is the hand which unceasingly inscribes the praises of God. 98

- Granth Sahib

69. What manner of Gursikh should be appointed to officiate as a dharamsalia?⁹⁹ [The first requirement is that] he should not be a man with wife or family.¹⁰⁰ He should be free from avarice, a humble person, celibate, truthful, one who cares for others. He should be patient, generous, kind, ascetic, one who praises rather than criticizes, a careful observer of the Rahit, a man without envy, discreet, alert, pure, one who serves, an unselfish person, ¹⁰¹ one who will attend to the needs of a Sikh from another locality. He who possesses these qualities will be a compassionate man [and as such worthy to officiate at a dharamsala].

Though I be a sinful man grant me a place in the company of sants and dharamsalias. 102

- Granth Sahib

70. The Sikh residents of a village or locality should assume the responsibility of providing the support for a Sikh dharamsalia possessing these qualifications. Whenever a ceremony [such as a marriage or a funeral] is held [the dharamsalia] should include in it several prayers of petition

to the Guru. [The local Sikhs of the area should] provide regular sustenance for [thelr] dharamsalia.

71. There should be no women's quarters in a dharamsala. The Gursikh who serves in the house of the Guru should be poor fin the sense that he should be a humble servant, devoid of worldly attachments and property]. He should certainly not be the kind of useless person who neglects the conduct of divine worship.

They who are born in the Kaliyuga, Nanak, have demons for daughters and sons, and wives who are supreme [demons]. 103

- Granth Sahib

- 72. The Gursikh [who serves as a dharamsalia] should instruct the sons of [other] Sikhs [ln the contents of] the Granth Sahib. [He should teach them its] hymns, the compositions of the Gurus, [and how to sing] kirtan. [In so doing, however,] he should not set himself up as a pir or a masand. 104 Regard [all fellow-Sikhs] as members of the Guru's family [and thus as your own relatives]. Do not think ill of them.
- 73. The Gursikh is [himself] a learner [and as such] is called to good deeds, service, courtesy and love. Treat [other Sikhs] with the same respect that you would bestow on your father.
- 74. The Sikh who despises his own son is [no better than] a cow-killer. He should not be regarded as a Sikh.
- 75. A Gursikh should not look with evil intent on another Sikh's children, women, or property.
- 76. The Gursikh's sacred duty is to serve other Sikhs with love and affection.
- 77. A needy Gursikh who receives food from a Sikh home should accept it as if it were amrit.
- 78. When a Gursikh gathers the first of a new crop whether fruit, grain, or anything else he should have another Sikh eat some before he takes any himself.
- 79. He who becomes a Sikh of the Guru should never strike another Sikh; and he who actually kills a Sikh will go to hell. [Such people] will be destroyed as were the tribes of the Kurus and the Pandavas.

They whose Master [Krishna] once dwelt in their midst. 105

- Granth Sahib

The fact that they killed others was the cause of their own destruction. [He who follows their example] must eventually be cut down. [Amongst Sikhs] there is but one caste (gotra) and one lineage, the single lineage descended from the Guru. [All Sikhs therefore belong to the same family.l

- 80. Gursikhs who are employed by a Muslim administration 106 should be forgiven their inability to observe the Rahit. There are, however, three exceptions 107 [to this general indulgence.] These are: (i) Killing daughters. (ii) Shaving the head or beard. 108 (iii) Smoking the hugga. 109 They should commit none of these. Other lapses can be forgiven if an offering of money is made [but these three are unpardonable]. If any Sikh has [administrative] responsibilities [of this kind] to perform others should do their best to avoid placing obstacles in his way. 110
- 81. A Gursikh should be neither a Sufi nor an Aghori. 111
- 82. If one who flouts the Rahit comes to a Gursikh seeking the Guru's protection he should not be turned away.

- §3. Gursikhs should show no sympathy towards [unrepentant] transgressors of the Rahit. 112 The worldly affections which people adopt are focussed on that which is transient. 113 - Granth Sahib
- 14. If a Gursikh happens to be a sardar, a raja, or a wealthy merchant [and is thus able to maintain a retinue] he should hire none but a Sikh as his cook. He should never employ myone who smokes, 114 wears a cap, cuts his hair, steals, commits adultery, 115 gambles, or In any other wayl violates the Rahit.
- 85. A Gursikh should never turn away [from the Guru]. He should spurn neither the Guru nor the [Guru's] Sikhs.

The face turned [from the Guru] is a face corrupted. 116

- Granth Sahib

He who turns away from the Satguru finds no respite from doubt. Neither earth nor the heavens afford him shelter; [stricken] he writhes in the dust. 117 - Granth Sahib

- 86. A Gursikh should burn wood in his kitchen, not dung. If [sufficient] wood is not available use equal parts wood [and dung].
- 87. A Gursikh should not be ignorant of the Guru's mantra. 118 He who is without the Guru's mantra (guramantar) must squander his life. The fool, for sure, is no better than a crow or a pig. 119 - Granth Sahib
- 88. Each Gursikh should receive baptism (pāhul) before his hair 120 has grown to its full length. It is the Guru's will that [every] Sikh should practise service and love.
- 89. If a Gursikh does not know a particular person he should have no [intimate] dealings with him and should put no trust in him. Always be careful.
- 90. When a Gursikh administers baptism he should observe the ritual formulated in accordance with the Guru's instructions. A handful [of water] should be given five times [to the neophyte] to sip. [The water should also be sprinkled onto his] head and eyes. [The initiated Sikh should then declare]: 'Hail to the Guru's Khalsa! Hail to the victory of the Guru!'121 [Finally the officiant should] invest [the initiate] with the mantra 'Sat nam '122 [and impart to him] the teachings of the Guru.
- 91. Any person who administers baptism must be a Sikh, one free from the sins of lust, anger, pride, deceit and idleness. He must be one who observes the Rahit and he should not be one who styles himself a guru.
- 92. A Gursikh should take care of his kes. He should comb it twice a day and he should wash it with curds. He should never touch it with dirty hands and should always protect it from insects. Be fastidious. [The kes is] the seal of the Guru and should be seen as the [outward] sign of adherence to his teachings.
- 93. He who maintains the kes without taking [the Guru's] baptism (pāhul) should be treated as a mere mimic¹²³ who knows not the Guru. All his clever words will be false.

They who without knowing the Guru claim all manner of [divine] understanding will be humbled in the court of God. 124 - Granth Sahib

94. Unity and friendship should be preserved amongst Sikhs. If ever offence is caused

conciliate the Sikh [who is thus offended].

- 95. The Guru's Sikh should show deference to other Sikhs. Practise love and trust [each other]. It is the sacred duty (dharam) of all to greet others with affection.
- 96. There are four blessings which follow when Sikh meets Sikh. The first is that the scriptures are read and sung. The second is that it provides an opportunity to explore the deeper issues of the Sikh faith. The third is that Sikhs [who gather together acquire a better] understanding of the Rahit. The fourth is that each will [be encouraged to] give alms according to his means.
- 97. Whenever a Gursikh joins other Sikhs [at any gathering] he should choose his seat with care. Sit in a line, never in front of another Sikh. There are two harmful consequences which result from sitting in front of another. The first is that you lose the respect of the person who has to sit behind you; and the second is that your own sense of self-importance is inflated.
- 98. A Gursikh should lay the shoes of his fellow-Sikhs in a straight line (at sangat meetings, By thus handling shoes] he is kept humble.
- 99. If a Gursikh wants to be a good Sikh, or if he aspires to leadership, let him serve other Sikhs.

The status of servant is conferred on him to whom the [Guru's] faithful followers show grace, 125 - Granth Sahib

100. A Gursikh should never trust a woman, neither his own nor another's. Never entrust them with a secret. Regard them as the embodiment of deceit.

Sinful men, licentious and stupid, act as their women command. Lust abounds; thus do impure men take orders from their women and act accordingly, 126 - Granth Sahib

- 101. If a Gursikh encounters a needy Sikh [he should provide his] new acquaintance [with hospitality]. If possible he should have his clothes washed, supply hair-washing facilities, and serve him food to the best of his ability. By so doing he will earn merit to offset any offences which he may commit.
- 102. A Gursikh should never commit theft or adultery, nor should he ever indulge in gambling.

Thieves, adulterers and gamblers will be crushed in [God's] oil-press. 127

- Granth Sahib

- 103. If the Guru's Sikh is engaged in any activity he will always do it as he would in the presence of the Guru. Put no trust in worldly wealth (maya), 128 for as the Granth Sahib says, 'Māyā has consumed many homes.' 129
- 104. A Gursikh should not talk while eating or distributing food, for in so doing he will deposit spittle on the food. Do not be consciously partial [in your dealings with others]. Do not be one-eyed $(k\bar{a}n\bar{a})$. 130
- 105. A Gursikh or Sikhni should wash his or her hands before kneading dough. Finger-nails should not be allowed to grow long, nor should there be any talking [while preparing a meal]. Show proper respect to the food.
- 106. After defecating a Gursikh should use earth to cleanse [his anus]. He should take care to keep himself unpolluted.
- 107. A Gursikh should treat the descendants of the Gurus with respect and likewise places

associated with the Gurus. 131 He should also show respect to all who serve the Guru, whether paid or unpaid; and he should reverence the Gurus' writings. All whom the Master has called his own should be treated with honour and esteem. Even the Guru's dogs should be respected. As the Granth Sahib says:

He whom you have taken and attached to your [protecting] hem gains access to your court and finds a place therein. 132

- 108. If ever a Gursikh has to travel for any reason, whether in his own home territory or beyond, he should offer Ardas to his Guru [for protection] before departing.
- 109. When the Gursikh returns from a journey within his own area or beyond, from near or far, from travel over a short distance or a lengthy one, he should proceed directly to the dharamsala and prostrate himself. 133 [He should not tarry at his house.] If possible he should merely call there and then go straight on [to the dharamsala] to offer worship $(p\bar{u}j\bar{a})$ [in thanksgiving for a safe return].
- 110. If a Gursikh has dealings with a non-Sikh while he is away he should invite [the non-Sikh] to join him in prayer.
- 111. If a Gursikh visits a place of pilgrimage (tirath) 134 or a gurdwara 135 he should, if possible, avoid the necessity of accepting support from offerings [which others have made. On the contrary], he should himself give something in order that somebody else may be fed. ['frue merit, however, consists in] neither thinking nor doing evil [and in acting generously]. If another Sikh comes to [a Gursikh's] house he should be fed as handsomely as the host can afford. The Granth Sahib tells us:

[The merit to be earned by] pilgrimage, austerities, [deeds of] mercy, or alms-giving is,

if one receives it, worth no more than a sesame seed. 136 Though the sesame seed may weigh a maund [it makes no difference. There is no particular virtue inherent in] a pilgrimage-centre. Sin committed there [is still sin and] alms given there [are no more effective than those given elsewhere].

- 112. If a Gursikh seeking a particular favour or blessing leaves his village to visit a gurdwara or a pilgrimage-centre other Sikhs from his village who accompany him should accept responsibility for his provisions. If none accompany him then as far as possible all [other Sikhs whom he encounters] should assume the responsibility as their means permit. If a village gives the pilgrim nothing it will thereby demonstrate that it is as useless as the simmal tree, giving shade but no fruit. 137
- 113.138 The Gursikh who is born of a diseased harlot should not be despised. [If he is a true Gursikh] he will not practise the same immorality, nor will he encourage others to do so. [A true Gursikh] is pure and undefiled [regardless of his origins].
- 114. The vicious, unruly Sikh, however, is the offspring of a devil, one in whom all evils are manifest. Duplicity, fraud, perfidy, ingratitude, covetousness, lechery, false beliefs, theft, fornication, gambling, pride, base deceit and hypocrisy, lust, [uncontrolled] anger, unlawful deeds (harāmī) - every conceivable vice will be found in such a person. If he happens to be a ruler he imposes an oppressive tyranny. He is a Sikh [merely] to outward appearances.

The poison of the colocynth, the [deadly] fruit of the ak, the thorn-apple and the neem-tree, Are in the heart and utterances of him who fails to behold you. 139

- Granth-Sahib

115. Gursikhs, however, will recognise the divine light [of the Guru's teachings] and will spurn false beliefs.

The counterfeit is regarded as pure and the pure ignored. A blind man is the

- Granth Sahib

- 116 The Sikh who mocks and abuses other Gursikhs should receive forgiveness if he seeks in humility. Innumerable sins can be forgiven if one stands penitently before a Sikli [congregation].
- 117. When a Gursikh sits with others [in a satsang] he should not talk too much. The Granth Sahib warns us:

He who fails to control his tongue will be struck down in the hereafter. 141

118. Another line from the Granth Sahib [makes the same point].

He who talks excessively in the assembly [of the devout] will be accounted a useless fellow. 142 [Instead] a Gursikh, when sitting with other Sikhs, should recite shabads, read passages from the scripture, and sing kirtan. Apart from this he should say nothing [in a religious assembly].

119. A Gursikh should never speak offensively. He should always speak with kindness and affection, as custom dictates.

Speech which earns respect is speech acceptable [to God], 143

- Granth Sahib

A Gursikh should not bathe at a dhobi-ghat. 144

A Gursikh should sing the praises of God and eat his food in accordance with approved custom. [His food] will be undefiled only if he eats no more than he needs. [If he observes due restraint the nourishment which he takes will be as pure as] amrit, the food of the gods. A man's ration of food should be the amount required to fill his stomach. This much he should take. Anything more, however, will be poison. [It will be like] cattle fodder, impossible to digest and thus causing discomfort.

A Gursikh should restore the wayward to the path [of approved conduct and belief].

The second second are the past for approved contact

120. A Gursikh should perform kirtan before sleeping.

A Gursikh should have his marriage ceremonies performed by a Brahman. Let him thus observe the Guru's Rahit.

If possible a Gursikh should avoid drinking water from a leather bucket; and he should never take water from a Muslim. 145

A Gursikh should show compassion to all. [He should, however, exercise sensible discretion and] should avoid the kind of generosity which is open to misinterpretation. 146

A Gursikh should never acquire degenerate ways. He should never associate with the perverse. He should not be dull and apathetic. He should follow none but his own [true] Guru, Let him search the Guru's works and let him reflect on what he reads in them.

121. If a Gursikh goes on a pilgrimage (udasī) 147 he should visit places associated with the Gurus.

Whatever a Gursikh may say should always be agreeable. Never speak bitter words which will cause distress.

Grieve no one's heart, for all [hearts] are precious pearls. 148

- Granth Sahib

In relationships between Sikhs each should act in accordance with [the distinctive prescriptions of] his own particular caste (*varan āsram*). Do not violate its established conventions. As the Tenth Master has written in the sacred scripture:

I am the son of a Khatri, not of a Brahman; how can I know the practice of austerities? How can I [a Khatri] evade the snares of this world by concentrating my mind on [the ascetic discipline of the Brahman]? Now, as my end draws near, I ask you graciously to hear my supplication, that when my life-span comes to its close I may die [a Khatri's] death in battle 149

A Gursikh should expound his religious beliefs [to others, but] he should not discourse with

the immoral nor with Muslims. His discourse should be delivered with the patient dignity of the stately swan, not with the harshness of a crow. Be forgiving and patient. Discharge your religious obligations and give alms. 150

122. When a Gursikh takes baptism let him receive it from the hands of a scrupulous Sikh, one who is both devout and wise. [He who administers baptism] should not be one-eyed, bald, lame or a leper. He should not be a person given to filthy speech, nor should he be beardless. He should not be a criminal, a thief, a fornicator, a gambler, or an idler. The person taking baptism will share [the merits and demerits of] the deeds committed by the person from whose hands he receives the Guru's initiation, so make sure that you take it from a

scrupulously [devout Sikh].

A Gursikh, whether rich or poor, should instruct his relative[s] in the Guru's teachings and the duties which these teachings demand. If he is affluent he should ensure that his wife and family will be properly protected [in the event of his death]. He should always bear his age in mind, noting how much of his life has elapsed and how much still lies ahead. The body passes through four stages: childhood, youth, old age, and death. What hope, then, does life offer? Prepare for the hereafter. [As a man grows old] he should transfer his various problems and concerns to his relatives - to his sons, grandsons, and [younger] brothers - while he himself devotes more time to attending the satsang. [He should keep himself pure amidst the world's impurities] as the lotus growing in [filthy] water [yet retains its beauty; and he should remain firm in the belief that] the Guru's teachings shall spread throughout the entire world. [As a man grows older] he perceives the nature of the Guru's purpose. Worldly affections grow dimmer [as divine love waxes strong]. A Gursikh should mix and mingle with others. He should not try to evade their company.

123. A Gursikh should never fall prey to anger while eating, giving charity, or singing hymns. Anger pollutes like a Chandal 151 and the company of [such] Chandals should thus be avoided. As the Tenth Master has said:

As dharma succumbs to anger or as illusion is dispersed by true wisdom, so have the demons

fled from battle with Chandi. 152

A Gursikh should associate with Sikhs of exemplary character in order that he may assimilate their qualities of love, trust, piety and wisdom. He should join for worship and religious discourse with others who are devoted [to the Guru's teachings].

If there is no customer for a valuable article its price will be cheap. 153

- Granth Sahib

124. When, therefore, the Gursikh seeks religious discourse he should associate with those who love the Guru's Word. The reward for doing so will be:

But if one finds a customer for this valuable article it will sell for a wondrous price. 154

- Granth Sahib

A Gursikh should not engage in religious discourse or conversation with a non-Sikh.

Do not expound the Guru's teachings in another's house. Thus the Satguru commands. 155

- Granth Sahib

125. A Gursikh should praise and glorify his Guru. He should never criticize [him], nor should he ever prompt others to do so. He should never speak evil [of him], nor offer any encouragement to others who may be so inclined. As a Sant has said:

He who does not openly confess his Guru, why does he remain with him as a disciple? 156
For as long as he has breath a Gursikh should discharge the obligations of the one [true] dharma and recite the words of the one [true] scripture. He should read, hear, and believe the words of the Guru, for as the Granth Sahib declares:

He who obeys the divine command wins approval and gains access to the palace of his Lord. 157

126. He who calls himself a Sikh and [claims to] accept the Word of the Granth Sahib as Guru, yet remains enslaved to worldly possessions $(m\bar{a}y\bar{a})$, is described by the Granth Sahib [as follows]:

He who spurns the Guru's command is a wayward and ignorant person, deceived by maya. 158 In his quest for understanding a Sikh should search the Guru's Word [by attentively reading or listening to it] and should regularly meditate on it. Thus is a knowledge of Sikh belief (sikhī) obtained.

He who has meditated on the Guru's [Word] has acquired [true] knowledge. 159

- Granth Sahib

127. A Gursikh should not listen to songs in a spirit of carnal pleasure, nor should he sing them in this way.

He who fails to comprehend the beauty of the Guru's songs, and thus takes no delight in hearing them, forfeits his chance of acquiring true wisdom. 160

- Granth Sahib

128. The Guru's Sikh should not succumb to the seduction of worldly music and songs. He should not even listen [to them].

Abandon [worldly] music and songs; serve [only] God and thus earn honour in [his] court 161

129. A Gursikh should give heed only to works which are actually by the Gurus and, in the case of stories, 162 only to those which concern them.

Apart from the Satguru's [compositions] all $b\bar{a}n\bar{t}$ is spurious. Those who recite it are spurious; likewise those who hear it and those who propagate it. 163 - Granth Sahib

130. A Gursikh should bear malice towards [none], neither to a money-lender nor his agent, to neither a servant nor to his master. Think evil of no one.

Think no evil of another, for thus, brother and friend, you shall yourself escape misery. 164 -Granth Sahib

- 131. After reading a shabad from the Granth Sahib, an extract [from a janam-sakhi], or the Sodar Rahirās liturgy 165 a Gursikh should touch [the ground or floor] with his forehead. 166 While reading [from the Granth Sahib] he should not rest his forehead on his hands. Reading a portion [of the Granth Sahib is like] being 'touched by the [Guru's] pāras', the philosopher's stone in which there is no impurity. 167
- 132. When a Gursikh sits in a dharamsala in the presence of the Granth Sahib and in the company of faithful Sikhs, he should feel not pride for any virtue, skill, wealth, or youthfulness [which he may possess]. As the Granth Sahib says, in the words of a Sant: Pride has rotted [even] ascetics and sages; pride has destroyed them all! 168
- 133. When a Gursikh concludes [a reading of the Sodar] Rahirās he should address all Sikhs [who are present] with the cry: 'Hail the victory of the Guru!'169
- 134. Let each Gursikh commit himself to the Guru with all fervour and sincerity. [Another] Sant declares in the Granth Sahib:

Farid, if you are steadfastly mine the world belongs to you. 170 He who acknowledges the Guru receives the Guru's care and protection. 171

135. If a Gursikh should suffer any affliction, whether in his own home territory or abroad, he should receive assistance from local Sikhs. For the Guru's sake, they should offer him [practical] sympathy, regardless of whether or not he has money [to recompense them]. They should provide him with refreshment from their own resources. Thus do they bind themselves [in service] to the Guru.

136. If any Gursikh should be struck by financial disaster or any other misfortune [his fellow] Sikhs should join to relieve his distress as far as possible. Each should contribute according to

Be warned that many cheats, impostors and self-seekers 172 will infiltrate the Panth. Pay heed

When the daughter of a Sikh is to be married to a Sikh the other Sikhs of [her] village or locality should contribute towards the marriage expenses.

137. A Gursikh should not worship at [Muslim] tombs or the shrines [of deceased Hindus; 173 he should not visit] a temple or mosque; and he should not accept [the authority of] a mullah or a qazi. [He should follow] none but his own Guru.

Do [not] put ignorant faith in tombs, shrines of the dead, or ascetics' retreats. 174

- 138. A Gursikh should not let his son read the Granth Sahib in a careless manner, [heedless of the respect and conventions which should be observed in doing so]. He should be put with someone who will teach him [how to do it in the approved manner. He should understand that] the Granth Sahib is to be reverenced as Guru.
- 139. When a Gursikh sits to read the Granth Sahib he should do so with scrupulous care. If he has been picking his nose or scratching his body he should wash his hands [before touching the volume]. As the Granth Sahib says,

The [sacred] volume is the abode of God. 175

140. The Gursikh who reproves an erring fellow Sikh by preaching the sublime principles of Gurmat should ensure that he is in fact addressing a Sikh. He should not admonish a non-Sikh in this manner. [To the Sikh] he should expound the Rahit. If he is to convince the other he must, of course, practise it himself.

Meditate on the divine Name and teach others to do likewise. 176

- Granth Sahib

First [the believer] brings enlightenment to his own understanding; then [mediating that wisdom] he brings joy to others. 177

- Granth Sahib

He who instructs others but fails to practise what he preaches will continue to transmigrate. 178

- Granth Sahib

- 141. When a Gursikh reaches the conclusion of a reading of the Granth Sahib he should read the [scribe's] ink formula. He should then repeat Jap[ji] and end the entire reading with the [final words of its terminal] shalok, ketī chhuṭī nāl. 179
- 142. While engaged in any activity, or while making or using anything, a Gursikh should [recite the name of God. As he performs his task he should] repeat 'Praise to the Guru, Praise to the Guru. 180
- 143. A Gursikh should put no trust in his own man. 181 It should be restrained from the evil [towards which it so naturally inclines].

No trust can be put in you, treacherous man, grossly drunk [with the intoxication of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$]. 182

144. Each village or locality with Gursikh homes 183 should maintain a dharamsala dedicated to the Guru so that passing Sikhs may have a place to rest. This should be done regardless of whether the Sikh homes be few or many. Sikh visitors [who use it] should be provided with cordial hospitality.

145. A Gursikh should protect the dignity of his kes and thus preserve the honour of his Sikh faith. The kes is the outward symbol of the inward faith of a Sikh. [The scriptures refer to the kes and its importance in the following extracts]:

If a coin contains silver, Nanak, all declare it to be genuine. 184

- Granth Sahib

Hovering over a [man's] head the five demons seize [him] by the kes and whirl him round. 185

- Granth Sahib

I wave my kes as a whisk over [the heads of] sants and apply the dust [of their feet] to my face. 186
- Granth Sahib

When Yama seizes you by the kes and strikes you your face will be battered. 187

- Granth Sahib

[Grant that] I may wipe the feet of [your] slaves with my kes. 188

- Granth Sahib

My kes will burn like a bundle of grass. 189

- Sant [Kabir]

Whether you wear your kes long or crop it short. 190

- Sant [Kabir]

[Remember], O beloved of God, that [merely] wearing the kes is not sufficient to earn [God's] grace. 191

- The Tenth Master

146. [Sundry aphorisms:] 192

The Sikh faith is [expressed in repeating the divine Name with] every breath.

Religious discourse should concern the divine Word.

All may know the mystical experience.

Merit is earned by attending the sangat.

Our deeds are seeds, [their fruit determining our future rebirth].

One's thoughts should concern the Guru's teachings.

One's actions should conform to [the requirements of] dharma.

Restraint is a weapon, [not a weakness].

Let all your words be the truth.

One's fate depends on one's previous deeds.

Munificence¹⁹³ is praise [to God].

The right to rule is [won] by the sword.

Worship is due first to the Guru and secondly to the sword.

Pious deeds are the witness [to one's faith].

The Sikh faith is fragrance.

Service is glory.

Speech should be sweet.

One's reputation depends upon what others see.

Disgrace is in the eye of the beholder.

['ear [and avoid] contact with another's wife.

A good wife [brings joy to] her husband.

A wife should come from a [good] family.

[True happiness is] living in the [Guru's] presence.

The command [of the Guru] is to be obeyed.

The Guru commands that which he desires.

The Sikh faith demands a spirit of service.

Authority lies with the Granth Sahib.

A Khalsa is recognised by his outward appearance.

Praise God when you awake from sleep.

Bathing must include the kes.

Evil deeds should be forsaken.

Always be alert and act accordingly.

Speak as pious convention dictates.

Enshrine the Rahit in your heart.

To believe [in the Guru] is [true] wisdom.

A Sikh should serve others.

A Sikh belongs to the Guru.

Brotherhood is love.

One should attend to the needs of one's parents.

Learning should derive from interest, [not compulsion].

Sweetness of song depends on quality of voice.

Those who lead should serve [their people].

Love comes from within.

He who has food should share it.

Let your thoughts dwell on virtue.

It is sinful to kill

The man is to be conquered.

Conduct your wordly dealings with order and efficiency.

[The Guru's] grace is priceless.

Prasad should be karah prasad. 194

Battles should be fought by armies, [not by individuals].

Strength is in one's arms.

Let dharma spread!

All Sikhs belong to the same family.

The tongue is for singing God's praises.

- 147. A Gursikh should show respect for the letters of the Gurmukhi alphabet. Never tread on [any paper inscribed with Gurmukhi] and never use [such paper] as a wrapping. 195
- 148. A Gursikh should never bathe naked.
- 149. A Gursikh should memorize [the Guru's] hymns (bāṇī).
- 150. When a Gursikh arises in the morning he should greet the sun with a namaste 196 and [his fellow] Sikhs with [the salutation]: 'Hail the victory of the Guru!'
- 151. When the new moon appears the Gursikh should salute it with a namaste and greet [his fellow] Sikhs with 'Hail the victory of the Guru!'
- 152. A Gursikh should never censure an innocent person.
- 153. The Gursikh who sows love and affection will reap blessings a thousandfold.
- 154. He who responds coldly and unwillingly will be recompensed accordingly. As the Granth Sahib says:

He who acts under compulsion [earns] no merit [for himself and confers] no benefit [on others]. 197

- 154. These precepts have been recorded in response to the wishes of the Sikhs and in obedience to the Guru's command. They have been set down for the benefit of Sikhs, not for all and sundry.
- 155. This statement of Sikh beliefs may also serve the purpose of restoring a backslider to the path of sound conduct and so reconstituting him a [loyal] Gursikh. Do not shirk the obligations [thus required of all who follow the Guru].

THE MISSION OF GURU GOBIND SINGH

At this point the compiler of the original Chaupā Singh text leaves his rahit-nama source and begins the first of his narrative portions. Sections 157-188 record a selective biography of Guru Gobind Singh. Particular attention is focused on:

- The devoted service of the Guru's Chhibbar Sikhs and the trust which he bestowed on them in recognition of their loyalty.
- 2. The treachery of the masands.

The insistence on renouncing allegiance to the masands leads to a catalogue of soldierly virtues, thus briefly resuming the actual rahit-nama (189-204). The narrator declares the mission of Guru Gobind Singh to be the destruction of evil with the assistance of his Panth (205) and then proceeds to describe the means whereby the Guru sought to strengthen the Panth for its time of testing. Akal Purakh has bestowed the Panth on the Guru, thus discharging his role as divine Father. The narrator claims that Guru Gobind Singh was also persuaded to seek the assistance of the divine Mother (Mata Devi, the goddess Durga) and relates the notorious story of how the Guru commissioned a fire ceremony (hom) for this purpose (209-236). The ceremony proved to be abortive and after a brief discourse with Pandit Devi Das Chhibbar (237-247) the text restates the Guru's mission (248) and returns to the Rahit (249-252).

A few lines later, however, the narrator abandons his expounding of the Rahit yet again, turning this time to a lengthy denunciation of those who spurn or vilify the Guru (253-267). This comprises a series of anecdotes, all involving treachery or insolent behaviour towards the Gurus. A linking passage then follows (268-285) and the text finally turns to a sustained exposition of the Rahit.

Much of this narrative portion is supplied only by the GNDU manuscript. The SRL manuscript omitted sections 185-246 inclusive without giving any indication of the omission. 198 This meant that it excluded the Mata Devi incident, but retained the denunciation of the Guru's enemies. The PSP version continues as far as section 193 before it drops an even larger portion of the original text. The Mata Devi and denunciation narratives are both omitted and the PSP version eventually returns to the original text at the beginning of section 281. 199

See the introduction, p.44.

- 157. In accordance with the command of Sri Akal Purakh²⁰⁰ the Supreme Master²⁰¹ [Guru Gobind Singh] descended as an avatar to redeem the Kaliyuga. He was born a grandson to Guru Hargobind Sodhi, renowned as a wielder of the sword and a generous provider to the needy.²⁰² He assumed [this incarnation as Guru Hargobind's grandson] after performing austerities [in a previous incarnation] on the mountain known as Hem Kund or Mount Sumeru.²⁰³ He was born as a son to Guru Tegh Bahadur in Patna on the seventh day of the dark half of the month of Magh, S.1718.²⁰⁴ The birth took place on a Sunday²⁰⁵ during the last watch of a cloudless night.
- 158. It was from there that he was subsequently brought to the Punjab²⁰⁶ with numerous servants, male and female, in attendance. Chaupa Singh, the senior retainer, [was appointed to serve as nursery superintendent and tutor. 207 In S.1722 (1665/66 A.C.) [his father, Guru Tegh Bahadur] Sahib, had weapons made for him - a small shield, a small sword, arrows and a bow. These he would take from a servant and use [in his play]. He also played children's games with others of his age, attended by numerous servants. In S.1724 (1667/68 A.C.) he learnt to read and write Gurmukhi²⁰⁸ and Takri²⁰⁹ from the author [of this narrative], Chaupa Singh. In S.1726 (1669/70 A.C.) he learnt how to read and write Persian²¹⁰ from Bhai Kirpa Ram. a Brahman Sikh. 211 He learnt [these skills from his teachers] just as Ram learnt from Vasishtha and Krishna from Sandipan, and he acquired [from them] a knowledge of the world in all of its many manifestations. In S.1728 (1671/72 A.C.) he was married 212 and Pandit Devi Das²¹³ began the custom of delivering daily discourses. During the same period he played with bow and arrow, gun, dagger, sword and stave,²¹⁴ and [learnt how to use them by watching others. Sikhs were sent with instructions to travel around the country and beyond, there to hear poems and hymns, and to bring back those which possessed notable quality. Some relatives [who were hostile to the ninth Guru] lodged a complaint [against him] with the Muslim authorities. 215 Guru Tegh Bahadur proceeded to Delhi and was vindicated in the interrogation [which followed].²¹⁶
- 159. The Muslim authorities then summoned him a second time, [but this time the Guru]

Sahib did not go. That which had been concealed [was to be revealed for all to see]. The hypocrisy of the Muslim rulers and of the evil men [who served them] was to be exposed [The time had come to destroy the tyranny] of the Muslims, to tear out by the roots those who had perpetrated injustice in response to the [false] reports of wicked men. [In order to restone justice the Guru] Sahib deliberately brought about his own arrest. Sati Das and Divan Mull Das, two Brahman Sikhs, were both arrested with him. 217 By the time [the prisoners] reached Rupar [the Guru] was suffering from severe distress, but his two faithful companions were unremitting in their attention, providing him with food and water [as he required]. When they reached Delhi [the Guru] was subjected to interrogation for two months and three days, and was then beheaded. [This took place on] the fifth day of the light half of [the month of] Maghar, S.1732. 218 A Sikh secured possession of his head and carried it to [Gobind Singh. This Sikh] reached [Anandpur] on the ninth day [of the light half of Maghar, leaving the decapitated] corpse to be cremated in Delhi. When he arrived [in Anandpur] he laid the head before the Master. Taking the head the Master wiped it with a cloth and wept [over it. He then] washed it, first with rose-water and afterwards with water from the Ganga.

- 160. [Guru Gobind Singh then] declared: Dashing himself on the ruler of Delhi he departed for God's abode. Such was the achievement of Tegh Bahadur, the feat which he alone could perform.
- 161. At the death of Tegh Bahadur, lamentation swept the earth. From below came anguished wailing; from heaven triumphant cries!²¹⁹
- 162. The head was then cremated on a sandalwood pyre. [When this was done] the Master asked how many Sikhs had given their lives [for their Guru. The Sikh who had brought back the head replied], 'My Lord, with him were the two Chhibbar Brahmans who attended to him needs. Faithfully they prepared food in his kitchen, and they served it to him with scrupulous concern for its purity. ²²⁰ Both accompanied the Guru to his death.' 'These Chhibbar [Brahmans] were our Sikhs from the very beginning,' [declared the Guru], 'and now they have died a noble death. [By their steadfast loyalty they have won] salvation [for themselves] and for all their descendants!' The Master then fell silent for the space of an hour. ²²¹
- 165. [When the hour had elapsed the Guru] said, 'But we have many Sikhs. [Where were the others?]' 'My Lord,' [answered the Sikh]. 'all were smitten dumb and fled. None bore any outward symbol of his Sikh faith which would mark him as a Sikh.'
- 166. Filled with wrath the Master declared, 'I shall decree an outward symbol such that a single Sikh will stand out in a crowd of thousands. Never again will there be any hiding [of their identity as Sikhs]!' Having said this the Master reflected on what he might do. On the seventh day [of the dark half of Maghar] the ashes of [his father's body] arrived, mixed together and wrapped in a deer-skin. They were despatched to the Ganga. 222
- 167. Until the thirteenth day Pandit Devi Das performed readings from the Garuda Purana. 223 All the scriptures (\$\vec{sastra}\$) customarily read [during a period of mourning] were duly completed. The Dharam Shastras were thus read and food was distributed to Brahmans. 224
- 168. [When the ceremonies had been completed] the masands,²²⁵ in company with other Sikhs, approached Mata Gujari²²⁶ and respectfully asked her to have her son consecrated [as Guru].²²⁷ 'Let the people be informed by the masands [when this has been done,' they said]. 'Once he is enthroned his retinue will function effectively again.'²²⁸
- 169. Mata [Gujari accepted their plea and went to him]. 'The [Guru's] retinue must be restored to effective action, my son,' she said, '[and for this purpose you must receive consecration].' The auspicious time [for the consecration ceremony] was ascertained from [Pandit] Devi Das, and on the first day of Chetra, S.1733²²⁹ [Tegh Bahadur's son Gobind]

- was duly installed as Guru, to the acclaim of all the masands and Sikhs.
- 170. [The new Guru then] commanded, 'Call the Chhibbar Sikhs.'230 Sahib Chand and Dharam Chand both presented themselves and the Guru said, 'You are to join the Guru's service.' 'Master, we are unworthy [of this honour],' they protested.
- 171. 'There have always been forbears of yours in the Guru's service,' the Guru replied. 'Daragah Mal and Hira Nand, Brahman Sikhs of the Chhibbar family (got), ²³¹ were employed in the service of the seventh Master. ²³² Those [faithful] Sikhs Sati Das and Mati Das, who served both the eighth and ninth Masters ²³³ and who met their end together with the [ninth] Guru, were also Chhibbar Brahmans. Why, then, should you not be enlisted? [Come now], accept the appointment.'
- 172. The Guru commanded Sadhu Ram, [one of his] Sikhs, to bring siropas. ²³⁴ Sahib Chand was invested with the divan's siropa.
- 173. Dharam Chand received that of treasurer and steward, and both duly assumed their responsibilities. The Guru then despatched hukam-namas to the masands, commanding them to return to [the service of their] sangats. [Though still a child] the Guru took up the [serious] use of arms. A Sikh brought a copy of the Hanumān Nāṭak ²³⁵[and the Guru had it read].
- 174. [The Guru] also listened to other poetic works and to the homilies ($kath\bar{a}$) which Devi Das delivered. During this same period he hunted and practised with dagger and sword. In S.1734 (1677/78 A.C.) he composed the $J\bar{a}p$ and $Sr\bar{\iota}$ Akāl Ustat. He sent hukam-namas to [his] Sikhs, for which purpose Sikh scribes were [kept] in attendance.
- 175. In S.1735, on the fifth day of the light half of Maghar, ²³⁶ a great religious feast was held to commemorate Guru Tegh Bahadur's sacrifice. ²³⁷ The [regular] reciting of bānī continued. [During this year] a volume entitled Samundra Sāgar was compiled and also a second collection relating the exploits of [Vishnu's various] avatars. [This was also a period of struggle, for] war began with Raja Fateh Shah. ²³⁸
- 176. [During that same period] a messenger was despatched to Kartarpur [bearing a request] that Singhji Sodhi, grandson of Dhir Mal, should send the original copy of the Granth Sahib. Singhji Sodhi refused the request. 'Make another copy for yourself,' was the answer which he sent. [Hearing this] the Guru declared, 'They have gone their own [perverse] way. They will never surrender it.'239
- 177. In S.1737 Fateh Shah [was defeated and] fled, [leaving his] territory to the victorious [Guru. Later] war broke out with [other hill] rajas and a mighty war it proved to be. The Guru's own sons participated [in this war]. Many Sikhs were involved [in the fighting and some] fierce battles took place. In S.1748 (1691 A.C.) a Sarin Khatrani, Rup Kaur, came with members of the Lahore sangat to attend the [annual] Baisakhi fair. ²⁴⁰ She tried to deceive the Guru in a most grievous manner, but was unable to do so. It was because of her deceit that the Charitra ²⁴¹ were composed. The work was completed on the eighth day of the dark half of Bhadon, S.1753. ²⁴²
- 178. Thereafter the Supreme Master began to devise means of making his Panth [visibly distinct and] separate [from both Hindu and Muslim]. In S.1754, on the seventh day of Savan, he introduced the rite of kes baptism (kesān dī pāhul). Chaupa Singh, he commanded, bring a bowl of water. [I] duly brought one and the Guru then said [to me], Take a knife and stir [the water. As you do so] recite the Five Quatrains (pañj savayye).
- 179.²⁴⁷ After I, Chaupa Singh, had begun to recite [the verses] Diwan Sahib Chand respectfully suggested, 'My Lord, if patashas²⁴⁸ are added it will make a pleasantly sweet

mixture (ras). 249 'Dharam Chand, bring patashas and put them in [the water], said the Guru, When I, Chaupa Singh, had thus prepared the bowl [of sweetened water] I stood before [the Guru, one hand underneath] and the other holding the rim.

180. The Supreme Master then scooped five handfuls [of water from the bowl] and five times he applied the amrit²⁵⁰ to [his own] eyes. Next he sprinkled five handfuls on [his] head, reciting [as he did so] the savayyā of Chanḍī Charitra.

Savayyā

Strengthen me, O Lord, that I shrink not from righteous deeds, That freed from the fear of my enemies I may fight with faith and win. The wisdom which I crave is the grace to sing your praises. Grant that when life's span shall end I may meet my death in battle, 251

- 181. The Guru then administered the [kes] baptism for the first time, dispensing it to [me], Chaupa Singh, with his own hands. Having done so he commanded [me] to say: 'Hail to the Guru's Khalsa! Hail the victory of the Guru!'²⁵² Four indigent Sikhs who were present now stood up with palms respectfully joined. 'Permit me to administer [baptism to these four,' I asked the Guru.] The Guru assented²⁵³ and Dhanna Singh, Hari Singh, Meva Singh and Jodh Singh [were duly baptised. These four and I, Chaupa Singh,] were the five Sikhs who became Kes-dhari Singhs on that first day.
- 182. On the second day more Sikhs requested [the same baptism]. The Guru commanded: Prepare karah prasad. 254 Have the five Singhs [who were baptised yesterday] recite the Five Quatrains [and let these people then] receive baptism from them. [As the first Master has said:]

 The chosen five are the five supreme. 255

Baptism should be jointly administered by five Sikhs, inducting [those who receive it into the ranks of] the Guru's Singhs. [Those who administer it should instruct its recipients in] the observance of the Rahit, [repeating] the Guru's mantra, 256 and in the obligation to bear arms. Bestow on each the most excellent name of Singh.' On that [second] day thirty-five [Sikhs] became Kes-dhari Singhs and on the third day sixty more. Each Sikh who thus became a Kes-dhari was invested with honour and dignity by his Master, and if he bore arms his prestige was all the greater. Those who bore the scars [of battle] earned even greater glory.

- 183. 'He who bears arms is a true Singh,' declared the Master. In this manner he bestowed on his Panth a uniquely distinctive identity. As the emblem of his Sikh allegiance [each of his followers was commanded to] retain his kes uncut. He who had spoken in wrath [when hearing how his father had been deserted] had fulfilled his vow!
- 184. On the first day of Phagan, S.1754, the Hola fair was held. 257 [The Guru] was angry with the masands [on this occasion because of the rudeness and disobedience which they showed]. A masand called Cheto had hidden something [and when the Guru rebuked him he and his fellow masands] all took offence. Thrice they were summoned [to join the sangat in] the langar [and each time] they refused to come. 'Send [them] trays [of food],' commanded the Guru. 'Take food [to them].' This they refused to accept. The Master himself placed food [on the trays] and standing up [despatched them to the masands. Again the food was rejected.] 'Do not let them go,' called [the Guru]. 'Seize them and bring them [here].' Some escaped but others were caught, struck down and burnt. 258
- He who claims to be the equal of his Master incurs his Master's ire.

 Stripped of his wages [the wretched man] is struck on the face with a shoe 260
- 186. [The Guru then] commanded Dharam Chand to write to his Sikhs instructing them to renounce the masands and all who supported them. All who owed allegiance to the Guru were summoned to him with instructions to come bearing arms.
- 187. 'My Lord,' said Divan Sahib Chand, 'you have already cast three groups out [of the

- Panth], all of them [adherents of] your own relatives. Have these people been similarly expelled, and their followers with them?'
- 188. 'Write to [my] Sikhs, Divanji,' replied [the Guru]. 'Notify them that they are to heed [this] hukam-nama of S.1755. They are to obey [only] the Guru's messenger. They are not to obey a masand, and they are to arm themselves.'
- 189. What then is expected of the Singh who bears arms (*śastra-dhārī singh*)? He will be one who exercises strict control over his natural impulses, yet treats others in a generous spirit. He will take great care of his weapon. Before defecating he will entrust it to another Singh who will then keep watch [for enemies]. If an enemy appears he will immediately spring into action. He will similarly remain on the alert while sitting and thinking. He will not let his attention drift, emulating the beast which watches warily while it grazes.
- 190. The Singh who bears arms will never turn his back in battle. If he wins he earns glory; and if he dies he goes to heaven. 261
- 191. The Singh who bears arms should never sleep unprepared at night. His body should not be unclothed, nor his head uncovered. He should wear his turban, imitating the ever-ready tiger.
- 192. The Singh who bears arms should never use his weapons against a woman.
- 193.²⁶²[Apart from the garments prescribed by the Rahit] the Singh who bears arms should wear whatever clothing he chooses. He should not wear a flimsy kachh of the kind which fails to serve its purpose.
- 194. The Singh who bears arms should continue always to develop his skill with weapons.
- 195. The Singh who bears arms should don his kachh as soon as he has finished bathing, regardless of whether it be wet or dry.
- 196. The Singh who bears arms will always worship his weapon.
- 197. The Singh who bears arms will never leave his weapon uncleaned.
- 198. The Singh who bears arms will remain on the alert even when his journey is for the purpose of trade. He will trust only those whom he actually knows.
- 199. The ideal place for a Kes-dhari Singh to be is with his Master. There in the presence of his Guru he will obtain liberation from the cycle of transmigration. The four blessings²⁶³ will be his. He who dwells in the divine presence shall find liberation in this present life.
- 200. The Master approves of warfare. It was for the purpose of waging war that he commanded [his followers] to retain the kes and take up arms. Only by warfare is the right to rule established.
- 201. The Supreme Master stripped the Muslim rulers of their authority and delivered it to the Panth. Their power has been destroyed.
- 202. When the Master received his authority as Guru his first task was to kindle a light [that would shine] in the hearts [of men]. It was a two-stemmed torch that he lit. The rulers of the world should serve as lights [to guide their people] yet nowhere had a lamp been lit, nowhere could a light be seen. And so these rulers were driven out in order that the Panth [might rule in their place]. He bestowed authority on the Panth in order that it might take revenge on the alien Muslims, ending their rule once and for all.

- 203. A [true] Singh is a Sikh who avenges the Guru.
- 204. A [true] son is one who avenges his father. The Singh who bears arms should be as vigilant as possible, [ever ready to fight on his Master's behalf].
- 205. On behalf of [his] Panth the Supreme Master interceded before his [divine] Mother and his [divine] Father.

Reverently I stood with palms together, head respectfully bowed.

With your gracious aid to sustain my endeavour I go into the world to establish the Panth. 264 - The Tenth Master

Why did Akal Purakh address him before [he descended to this world]? It was because evil had become rampant here on earth. 'Go and teach people to repeat my name,' [Akal Purakh commanded him]. 'Destroy the wicked. Establish a Panth which will propagate the true way (dharam panth). Akal Purakh declared:

You I now exult as my chosen son; summon men to the Panth which all must follow. Preach in all places the way of dharma; turn men away from every evil deed. 265

206. And so the Master interceded on behalf of his Panth. In so doing he addressed both the Mother, [the goddess] Devi, and [his] Father, Akal Purakh.

[The Timeless One (sarab-kāl) is our infinite Father, and the goddess Kali (debi kālikā) our Mother.] The wisdom of my Guru and my Mother's understanding have taught me all that I know. 266

207. When the parents are in happy circumstances the son also prospers. The deeds he performs are not his alone. Father and son are one and undivided, not two separate persons. Thus [the Tenth Master] has declared:

Those who claim that I am God shall burn in the fires of the fiercest hell.²⁶⁷

208. He also declared:

God and his servants are undivided, a single being in every way; Just as the waves arise from the ocean, then merge in its waters again, 268 In this manner both become one again.

209. Thus did Akal Purakh bestow his blessing by creating the Panth. In order to secure the blessing of Mata [Devi the Guru] held a fire ritual (hom). 269 He began by asking Devi Das if there were any Brahmans who would conduct the fire ritual for him. . .

THE FIRE CEREMONY HELD TO INVOKE MATA DEVI

The GNDU text relates the story of Guru Gobind Singh's alleged encounter with Mata Devi (the goddess Durga) in sections 205-235. According to this tradition Pandit Devi Das was deputed to find Brahmans who could conduct the hom ceremony which would invoke her presence. Eventually three such Brahmans were enlisted (Shiv Bakar from Kashmir, Vishan Pal from Kashi, and Kalak Das from the south). Rs 7,500 was set aside to cover expenses, a sum which was later increased to Rs. 45,000. Other Brahmans flocked to witness the ceremony which, it was claimed, would persuade Mata Devi to appear in its ritual fire.

During a preliminary discourse Pandit Kalak Das asked the Guru why he wished to have the ceremony performed. To destroy the demons which cause us such injury,' he replied (218). During this preliminary discourse the Guru also disclosed that his Panth comprised four distinct varieties of Sikh.

1. The didari or 'Attendant Sikhs' are those who, having renounced everything, remain with their Master and fight on his behalf (224).

2. The mukate or 'Liberated Sikhs' are those who give their substance and if necessary their lives in defence of their faith. The mukate alleviated the sufferings of other Sikhs and in so doing secure their own liberation (mukati) from the weary round of transmigration (225).

3. The maiks or Rapacious Sikhs' are those who distort the Rahit to suit their own

The murid or 'Loyal Sikhs' are those rare disciples who acknowledge that all things are the gift of the Guru (227) .270

Kalak Das reminded the Guru of the rigorous discipline which must be undertaken if the ritual is to be effective, and warned him that if Durga were to manifest herself she would do so in a fearsome form (228-29). When the Guru repeated his willingness to proceed he was told to bathe and the ritual was initiated. On the fortieth day the goddess finally appeared, whereupon all but the four principal participants fainted. When Durga could be descried sitting on a tigerskin two of the Brahmans also collapsed and even the Guru felt dizzy (231). Kalak Das instructed him to offer his head to the goddess. This he declined to do, suggesting that Kalak Das should provide the required sacrifice. Durga, however, vanished and the Brahmans were compelled to leave without securing the purpose of the hom. This episode, it is claimed, took place in S.1756 (1699/1700 A.C.) at the shrine of Durga on the hill called Naina Devi (235).

The departure of the three Brahmans is followed by a discourse with Pandit Devi Das. This eventually leads to a restatement of the purpose for which the Panth was founded, at which point the SRL text resumed. 271

The new Panth

248. And so the Master constituted his Panth separate and distinct [from all else] in the entire creation. [He provided his followers with a unique rite of initiation and a unique appearance], just as in his fifth incarnation ²⁷² he had delivered a unique scripture. ²⁷³ [This scripture had been prepared] because the Minas were also circulating bant. Prithi [Chand's] son Miharban had become a poet [and his works were being issued as authentic $b\bar{a}n\bar{i}$].²⁷⁴

249. [For this reason Guru Arjan] had said, 'Bhai Gurdas, you have been inspired by the Guru. Prepare an authorised version of the [Guru's authentic] bani. 'Bhai Gurdas accordingly produced the volume of the Granth Sahib [known as] the Adi [or original Granth]. In the same manner a unique Panth had now been created. What seemed [at first to be a mere speck of] straw in the eyes of Hindus and Muslims proved to be solid grit which would neither dissolve nor come out. [It remained in their eyes and] continued to irritate them.

The rahit-nama resumed

250. A Gursikh should carry weapons, both large and small, and should never be without them. The Guru has declared:

May the All-steel be our protection.²⁷⁵

251. A Gursikh must be upright and firm in his affections, a steadfast member of the Guru's Panth. As the Tenth Master has said:

Wear breeches, bangle, and a knife; keep a clean mind and a gentle tongue. Rare is the warrior who is fierce in battle but peaceable at home.276

252. And as the Granth Sahib testifies:

Rare [are the upright], few in number; most are concerned only for worldly show and empty actions.²⁷⁷ A Gursikh should therefore spurn the evil of worldly show and empty actions. No one can satisfy the worldly. Sants cannot do it, nor even avatars. As the Granth Sahib says:

There can be no meeting of the devout and the worldly 278

THE GURU'S ENEMIES CONDEMNED

While restating the purpose of the Panth in sections 248-249 the compiler briefly alludes to the difficulty created by the spurious compositions of the Minas and Guru Arjan's decision to have an approved scripture compiled in order to distinguish authentic bant from that of his nephew Miharban. This turns out to be the first of twelve anecdotes, each relating an example of arrogance or disloyalty to one of the Gurus 279 The next anecdote relates an incident from the life of Guru Nanak and the series which follows supplies a story

concerning each of the successive Gurus in turn. The extra anecdote (number 7) concerns both the fifth and the sixth Gurus. The complete series is as follows:

- Miharban's spurious bānī prompts Guru Arjan to have the Adi Granth compiled (248-49).
- 2. Guru Nanak's meal with the proud Malak Bhago and the humble Bhai Lalo (253), 280
- 3. Guru Angad's insubordinate rababis (254). 281
- 4. Guru Amar Das²⁸² restores to life the son of a destitute widow, thereby silencing slanderous complaints expressed by the Khatris of Goindval (255), ²⁸³
- 5. Guru Ram Das rejects an unsuitable marriage arrangement offered by vicious Sahi Khatris (256).
- 6. Guru Arjan and the insolent Chandu Shah (257), 284
- 7. Prithi Chand attempts to poison the child Hargobind (258-261).285
- 8. Guru Hargobind and the treacherous Pathans (262). 286
- 9. Mihar Chand Khatri punished for maligning Guru Har Rai (263). 287
- 10. Ram Rai's opposition to Guru Har Krishan (264)
- 11. Dhir Mal's treachery and the death of Guru Tegh Bahadur (265)
- 12. The betrayal of Guru Gobind Singh by the Hindu rajas of the hills and the Muslim rulers of the plains (267), 288

THE RAHIT RESUMED

Having concluded the digression on the fate of those who slander or oppose the Guru the compiler inserts a linking passage which includes injunctions relating to the Rahit (268-285). He finally returns to the formal style of the rahit-nama at section 286. The exposition of the Rahit which resumes at 286 comprises the following:

- 1. Offences against the Rahit (286-549)
- 2. Injunctions concerning female members of the Khalsa (550-567)
- 3. A brief conclusion restating the role of the sangat as Guru (567-568).

Guru, Sikhs and Khalsa

- 268. It was for this reason that [the tenth Master] declared: 'He who is inwardly a Sikh and whom the Guru acknowledges as one must be [visibly a Sikh]. How is the Sikh faith (sikhī) to be defined? The Sikh faith was instituted by the nine incarnations [of the one eternal Guru]. When they departed [this life each] bequeathed the Guru's authority [to his successor, finally delivering it to the tenth incarnation Guru Gobind Singh].
- 269. The [Guru's] Sikhs had attained maturity and so the Supreme Master [Guru Gobind Singh] conferred on them the responsibility²⁸⁹ of exercising the Guru's authority. 'The entire sangat is my Khalsa,' he declared, 'and the Guru is the Khalsa.'²⁹⁰
- 270. How can one hope to take worldly possessions from this life [to the hereafter]? All must be left here at death. One may rule [a kingdom] with all its wealth, land, cities and forts; [one may inherit a high] caste and a [handsome] body; [one may have] sons, daughters, wife and home. [None will endure.] No one has ever taken [this world's possessions with him] and none of them has ever accompanied its owner.
- 271. One may take great pride in one's status as a guru, as a mahant, or as the possessor of some other exalted rank; or one may [profit greatly from] deceit and fraud. [Nothing of this can be retained.] It all remains here [when a man dies].
- 272. What then accompanies [a man at death]? Compassion, charity, austerities, devotion, continence, [adherence to the] truth, humility, one's faith as a Sikh, service [to the Guru] these accompany him and so too does service [to others].

273. The deeds which one performs produce their effects in both this world and the next. [True] understanding, [regular] meditation, virtue, actions both good and bad, pious works - these are effective both here and in the hereafter.

The fruits of your actions accompany you [at death], Nanak; [worldly goods such as] garments and food remain here 291

- Granth Sahib

- 274. The Supreme Master himself abandoned everything [at death], carrying with him only the qualities conferred by the Sikh faith. The Gursikh must therefore seek an understanding of his Sikh faith and observe it as directed by the Guru's own words. The Guru set the Panth apart ²⁹² [as a distinct and separate community] in order that the Sikh faith would never be lost.
- 275. A Gursikh should not be a contemptible hypocrite, a Sikh merely in outward appearance.
- 276. A Gursikh should not be a two-faced dissembler, uttering flattery on the one hand and cunning or malicious gossip on the other.
- 277. A Gursikh should never contend with a satsang nor quarrel with a faqir.
- 278. A Gursikh should subdue ambition. He should expect no reward [for whatever service he may perform].
- 279. The Guru was filled with wrath when he commanded [his followers] to take up arms, and he intended that they should be used with determination. One should not take up arms except in wrath. Without weapons there can be no kingly rule; and without kingly rule the enemy will not be overcome.
- 280. [The Tenth Master] was wrathful because [the followers of Guru Tegh Bahadur] kept silent [at the time of his execution in Delhi]. No Sikh fought [on his behalf]; none gave his life [for his Master. Guru Gobind Singh therefore determined that in future] the silence [of cowardice] would be replaced by the visible loyalty of a host numbering 125,000.²⁹³ [Henceforth] they would remain [loyal] Sikhs even to death. A [true] Sikh is he who [steadfastly] obeys the Guru's command. As the Granth Sahib says:

Act as the Guru has directed. Why seek to emulate the [ineffable] deeds of the Guru [himself]?294

281.²⁹⁵ The Master himself has declared: 'Those who merely see me are not thereby loosed [from the toils of karma]. He who obeys my word is the one who finds freedom.' As it is recorded in the Granth Sahib:

All Forms [of life]²⁹⁶ behold the Satguru, but mere seeing does not bring liberation if one fails to meditate on the divine Word.²⁹⁷

282. Such a person is a Sikh of the Guru and the Guru sustains him [in his faith and in his living]. In the words of the Granth Sahib:

The Satguru sustains his Sikh. To his servant the Guru is eternally gracious. 298 [There are no sections numbered 283 or 284.]

285. How great is the Satguru, he who has worked such wonders²⁹⁹ for his Panth! The Guru began the task of passing on to the Panth his own skill in the use of arms. He took up making arrows with his own hands and began training his Sikhs in their use. He also promulgated the Rahit [to be observed by all who professed] the Sikh faith and imparted to them an understanding of the [mischievous] policies [which were being pursued by neighbouring states and by the Muslim rulers on the plains].

Offences against the Rahit

286. The Guru declared: 'If a Sikh, having transgressed the Rahit, stands penitently before a plenary assembly (sarabat) he should be forgiven. Let there be no delay in doing so. Impose a penance 300 on him to ensure that he does not commit the offence again.'

The following offenders should be required to undergo a penance:

- 287. The Sahaj-dhari Sikh who removes his beard. 301
- 288. The Sikh who takes [karah] prasad³⁰² out of the hands of another Sikh who is distributing it [instead of waiting for it to be given to him].
- 289. The fool who in a religious assembly heedlessly sits in front of a descendant of the Gurn or those who are singing the sacred hymns.
- 290. He who greedily retains for himself [karah] prasad which has been devoutly brought into the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib for distribution amongst Sikhs.
- 291. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who wears a cap (topi). 303
- 292. The Kes-dhari Sikh who wears a loin-cloth (langot). 304 Treat this as a serious offence. The proper way to exercise restraint [on one's sexual urges] is to do so in the mind.
- 293. The Sikh who wears a loin-cloth under his breeches (kachh).
- 294. The wretch who conceals or surreptitiously carries off the Guru's prasad.
- 295. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who removes the hair from his chest.
- 296. The Sikh who shows favouritism to some by deliberately discriminating when distributing [karah] prasad.
- 297. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who uses a waist-cloth as a turban.
- 298. He who wears shoes in a [dharamsala] kitchen (langar).
- 299. He who wears shoes while eating.
- 300. The Sikh who invites another Sikh to dine and then forgets [about the invitation which he has issued].
- 301. He who invites another Sikh to dine and then starts eating [before his guest has begun to do so].
- 302. He who stands up in any large gathering of Sikhs without [adequate] reason. [Such a person] should be required to make amends [for his discourtesy].
- 303. Any Sikh who obstructs other Sikhs in their efforts to solve problems, or who creates further difficulties [for them].
- 304. Any Sikh who offensively mocks and ridicules another Sikh. 305
- 305. The Gursikh who neglects to smear his cooking-square before preparing karah prasad. 306
- 306. The Sikh of any particular village or locality who [commits an offence and then] obtains

- pardon from anyone other than his village headman. 30%
- 307. The outsider who interferes in a reconciliation amongst friends.
- 308. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who yields [to an enemy]. 308
- 309. He who abuses other Sikhs.
- 310. He who makes an insulting gesture with his hand (bujā māre) to another Sikh. 309
- 311. He who jeeringly snaps his fingers (dhīrī deve) at another Sikh.
- 312. He who pulls a Sikh's turban. 310
- 313. He who knocks off a Sikh's turban.
- 314. The Sikh who pulls the hair of another Sikh's kes.
- 315. The Sikh who grasps another Sikh's beard and struggles with him.
- 316. The mean Sikh who does not share his food to the best of his ability with any other Sikh who may visit his house.
- 317. The unworthy dharamsala attendant who denies a Sikh's request [for food and shelter].
- 318. The Sikh who fails to render service to any worthy Sikh of his village or locality.
- 319. The Sikh who violently attacks other Sikhs.
- 320. The mean Sikh who bothers other villagers on behalf of a needy Sikh [instead of rendering assistance himself].
- 321. The dharamsala attendant who fails to safeguard the belongings of a visiting Sikh from another place. 311
- 322. He who fails to show proper respect to his sword.
- 323. The Sikh who, when his turban happens to fall off, fails to express regret.
- 324. The Sikh who, while passing a knife (karad), drops it on the ground. It should be placed [firmly in the recipient's] hand.
- 325. He who sides with anyone who transgresses the Rahit; with anyone who has been convicted of such a transgression; or with anyone who promotes factional discord.
- 326. He who violates the Rahit and fails to apologise.
- 327. Anyone who curses a Sikh. 312
- 328. The Sikh who carries his sword slung behind his back, 313
- 329. He who carries his sword over his shoulder with its hilt behind the shoulder.
- 330. The fool who entrusts his sword to a Muslim servant while he walks ahead empty-handed.

- 331. He who retains his sword on his person while defecating. It should be placed some distance away.
- 332. He who moves around unarmed. A Singh must be very alert.
- 333. He who merely washes his hands after defecating and does not perform [all of] the five ablutions.³¹⁴
- 334. He who puts on a turban which is already tied. 315
- 335. The lazy [Sikh] who, when curds are available, does not use them to wash his kes.
- 336. The filthy person who lets his kes become infested with insects.
- 337. The negligent [Sikh] who fails to recite the Guru's mantra 316 and Japji every day.
- 338. The slothful [Sikh] who forgets bant which he has previously memorised.
- 339. He who reads the Granth Sahib while naked.
- 340. The Singh who bathes in the nude. Wear a kachh, regardless of whether or not it gets wet.
- 341. The Sikh who keeps the company of women belonging to another man's family.
- 342. The Sikh who eats a woman's leftover food.
- 343. The Sikh who touches the feet of any woman other than his mother.
- 344. The Sikh who dances.317
- 345. A Sikh who sings anything other than the Guru's $b\vec{a}\eta\vec{i}$ in any Sikh assembly or gathering.
- 346. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who plucks white hairs [from his kes].
- 347. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who dyes [his hair or beard]. 318
- 348. Any Sikh who maligns another Sikh.
- 349. As it is written in the Granth Sahib:

 He who maligns others within his heart will be known [for what he is] and all that he does will be wasted effort.³¹⁹
- 350. The foolish Sikh who sets other Sikhs to fighting by making irresponsible statements.
- 351. Any Sikh who contrives to provoke disagreement amongst Sikhs.
- 352. A Sikh who, if visited by another Sikh while he is eating, neglects to offer food to his visitor.
- 353. He who turns away from other Sikhs to eat surreptitiously.
- 354. The deceitful [Sikh] who shamelessly takes possession of a bed and sleeps on it while

- other Sikhs sleep on the ground.
- 355. Sikhs who inconsiderately sleep on beds while leaving a poor Sikh to sleep on the ground.
- 356. Anyone who advances his own interests contrary to the wishes of his fellow Sikhs.
- 357. He who neglects to warn other Sikhs when he perceives that their business affairs are in danger of calamity or that their plans are going astray.
- 358. Anyone who eats good, tasty food himself, but provides other Sikhs with miserable fare.
- 359. The murderer who kills his infant daughter.
- 360. He who cuts his hair, 320 [branding himself] a gross violator of the Rahit. 321
- 361. The rogue³²² who steals a Sikh's property.
- 362. The arrogant person who is discourteous to a poor Sikh.
- 363. The haughty Sikh who when greeted with 'Hail the victory of the Guru' fails to respond. 323
- 364. The mean Sikh householder who appropriates for his own use coins which are offered during petitionary prayer $(arad\bar{a}s)$ conducted in his house.
- 365. He who does not deliver this Ardas money to the person authorised [by the sangat] to collect it.
- 366. The fool who does not treat this Ardas money as an offering to the Guru.
- 367. Any descendant of the Gurus who passes on to the Muslim [authorities money offered at] Ardas [which he has received by virtue of his relationship to one of the Gurus]. 324
- 368. The slovenly Sikh who does not bathe after enjoying the pleasures of the night with his wife.
- 369. He who refuses to accept a decision of the [local] fellowship [of Sikhs]. 325
- 370. The adulterous 326 Sikh who cohabits with another's wife.
- 371. He who disobeys his parents.
- 372. The reprobate who eats meat from animals killed according to Muslim rites. 327
- 373. He who consorts with anyone who has neither received baptism nor acknowledges the $\operatorname{Guru}^{328}$
- 374. He who recites the Guru's banī incorrectly. 329
- 375. He who has in his house a son who has not been initiated as a follower of the Guru.
- 376. He who distributes [karah] prasad³³⁰ without [first] reciting Ardas,³³¹

- 377. Any Sikh who shows himself to be greedy when receiving [karah] prasad.
- 378. He who does not love the Word of the Guru. 332.
- 379. He who does not participate when Ardas is being offered to the Guru.
- 380. The Kes-dhari Sikh who wears a tunic fastened at the side [instead of at the front]. 333
- 381. He who wears red [garments]. 334
- 382. [A Sikh] who applies black collyrium [to his eyes].
- 383. He who removes a $dut\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, 335 a copy [of the Granth Sahib], a whisk, 336 or a cloth [in which the sacred volume is wrapped].
- 384. He who touches the feet of a Mughal. 337
- 385. He who eats food left by a Mughal.
- 386. He who places [anything inscribed with] the Arabic script on his kes, 338
- 387. He who worships at tombs and cenotaphs. 339
- 388. He who talks during kirtan, a scriptural reading (pāth), or a religious discourse.
- 389. He who does not show all possible consideration to a poor Sikh.
- 390. He who uses soap or salt-earth detergent (kallar) on his kes. 340
- 391. He who has another Sikh staying in his house and does not supply him with curds to wash his hair.
- 392. He who fails to set aside the Guru's portion from [each] heap of winnowed grain out [in the fields].
- 393. He who has a poor Sikh staying in his house and fails to arrange for his clothes to be washed.
- 394. He who [intervenes] when one Sikh is giving something to another [for a worthy purpose and] forbids [the transaction].
- 395. The Sikh who gambles with other Sikhs' money.
- 396. The wretch who pollutes himself by having sexual intercourse with a Muslim prostitute.
- 397. The miserable Sikh who received money from another Sikh and puts it to some unworthy purpose. 341
- 398. The miserly person who receives money [as an offering] from another Sikh and buries it [for his own future use] instead of using it for charitable purposes and his own immediate support.
- 399. The person who eats carelessly in the company of other Sikhs, ejecting [particles of food as he does so].

- 400. The insolent person who leaves a gathering of Sikhs [before it has dispersed].
- 401.342A devout Sikh will reflect on the principles of Sikh conduct.
- 402. Let there be no resentment if a poor man angrily complains about his deprived circumstances.
- 403. As the Granth Sahib says:

We, the poor and helpless, are yours, O Lord; hold us in your keeping, O God most high. 343

- 404. He who is able to supply the needs of a Sikh who comes to his house and yet sends him away hungry. 344
- 405. The Sikh who, when he attends a wedding, watches the vulgar singing and dancing³⁴⁵ [which is performed on such occasions].
- 406. The Sikh who worships at sacred lakes, pools, and tanks;³⁴⁶ or at shrines dedicated to Gugga Pir.³⁴⁷
- 407. He who attends the mourning ceremony for a deceased Muslim. 348
- 408. He who calls a Sikh by only half of his name. 349
- 409. The Kes-dhari who has his son's hair cut.
- 410. He who having taken a cup from a person who cuts his hair drinks water from it without first cleaning it.
- 411. The Kes-dhari who removes hair from his beard by nibbling it with his teeth, or who has any of it trimmed with scissors or plucked with tweezers.
- 412. The person who keeps a poor Sikh waiting while he himself eats a meal.
- 413. The residents of a village who neglect to welcome any worthy or notable Sikhs, descendants of Gurus, or bearers of hukam-namas³⁵⁰ who may visit their village.
- 414. The Sikh who does not teach his son how to read the Granth Sahib. 351
- 415. The Sikh who [unjustly] censures another Sikh.
- 416. The Sikh who prevents another Sikh from entering a gurdwara when the latter wishes to do so in order to hear the sacred Word.
- 417. The Sikh who engages in violent argument with another Sikh.
- 418. The Sikh who fails to assist any Sikh who has been wounded, disabled, or overcome with exhaustion in battle.
- 419. He who misdirects another Sikh. 352
- 420. He who fails to have a slain Sikh cremated on the battlefield whenever this is possible.
- 421. The Sikh who, when asked by another Sikh for assistance in the Guru's name, neglects to do all he can to supply it.

- 422. The Sikh who asks for assistance without good reason.
- 423. The hypocritical Sikh who invites only respectable guests to eat the Guru's food, never a poor [Sikh]. This is the command of the Eternal One. 353
- 424. The impulsive Sikh who is quick to resort to violence.
- 425. The penniless Sikh who is given to foolish smirking and sniggering. Such a person should be admonished, [for scorn will earn him no reward]. As the Granth Sahib says:

 A fool who clings [to his folly] will be slapped on the face, 354
- 426. The ungrateful Sikh who fails to care for his parents. In the words of a Sant (sant sādh):

 The son who disobeys his parents assumes a base caste. 355
- 427. The Kes-dhari who distributes food³⁵⁶ at a gathering of Sahaj-dharis.
- 428. The Sikh who flatly refuses to obey a parent's command. Why, O son, do you quarrel with your father? It is sinful to quarrel with the one who brought you to birth and manhood.³⁵⁷

- Granth Sahib

- 429. Parents who are disloyal to the Guru. [Such people can expect no loyalty from others, not even from their closest relatives. Thus] Prahlad cast off his father [Hiranyakasipu, the enemy of Vishnu; and Shakuntala], the mother of Bharat, was sent away [by her husband King Dusyanta because she had lost her wedding ring]. 358
- 430. The Sikh who neglects to recite Anand [Sāhib] 359 before distributing karah prasad. 360
- 431. He who does not maintain langar purity by putting on clean clothes and plastering the cooking-square [with cow-dung] before preparing karah prasad. 361
- 432. He who has karah prasad prepared by anyone who cuts his hair, ³⁶² smokes a huqqa, or otherwise transgresses the Rahit.
- 433. He who weighs karah prasad after it has been prepared. 363
- 434. He who irreverently turns his back on the Granth Sahib while sitting in its presence.
- 435. He who, while reading the Granth Sahib, sits on a stool which is higher [than the Granth Sahib itself].
- 436. He who distributes or eats [karah] prasad in the company of Muslims. If any Muslim [happens to be present] ask him to leave.
- 437. He who neglects to wash his hands before distributing [karah] prasad or before touching a copy of the Granth Sahib.

The [sacred] volume is the dwelling-place of God. 364

- Granth Sahib

- 438. The Sikh who acquires the stench of tobacco³⁶⁵ by sitting near a smoker.
- 439. The Gursikh who fails to utter a seven-fold curse whenever reference is made to that Khatri of Sirhind [who was called] Sucha-[nand but who treacherously demonstrated that he should properly be called] Jhutha-[nand], 366 or to [Chandu Shah, that scurrilous] Sahi Khatri

[of Lahore].367

- 440. The Sikh who when distributing [karah] prasad puts aside his own portion before [giving to others].
- 441. The Sikh who grants authority to a Muslim in the management of his household affairs.
- 442. The Sikh who divulges a family secret to a Muslim.
- 443. He who curses a respectable woman. This should not be condoned.
- 444-45. The Sikh who dismisses a Sikh domestic and in his place employs some [non-Sikh] servant. Those [Sikhs] who are themselves employed by Muslims should be required to seek forgiveness [for the Rahit lapses which their employment must involve]. 368
- 446. The Sikh who commits any breach of trust in dealings involving another Sikh.
- 447. The Sikh who receives word of another Sikh's death and does not attend the funeral. All must travel Death's road [and pious concern for others will make one's own journey easier].
- 448. The Sikh who does not obey the commandment of the Guru. 369
- 449. He who ridicules [the Guru's] shabads.
- 450. He who hears the scriptures being read while he is sitting on a string-bed and does neither of the following. Either he should get off the bed and sit on the ground, or alternatively he should have the reader sit on the bed beside him.³⁷⁰
- 451. The Sikh who requires another Sikh to swear a false oath.
- 452. The brute who swears an oath which harms an honourable man.
- 453. The Sikh who, in ordinary conversation, repeatedly calls on the Guru for justice or aid. 371
- 454. The obscene Sikh who uses filthy language when speaking to another Sikh.
- 455. The Sikh who defrauds another Sikh and refuses to repay the money which he has falsely obtained. Have no dealings with him. Do not associate with him unless he pays what he owes, in which case he should be pardoned.
- 456. He who insists on full repayment from a Sikh who has suffered a loss in trading.
- 457. [He who meddles in business conducted by an honest Sikh.] An honest Sikh should be left to conduct his business without interference.
- 458. He who deliberately inflicts pain or irritation on a Sikh.
- 459. He who seeks redress through the intervention of a magistrate³⁷² instead of accepting the decision of a Sikh. Disputes between Sikhs should be settled amongst Sikhs.
- 460. A Gursikh should settle such issues within the Sikh [brotherhood], regardless of whether he be the plaintiff or defendant. [Only] those who have no faith in the Guru will refuse to negotiate a mutual settlement [within the community].
- 461. The faithless [Sikh] who refuses to accept another Sikh's word when they are debating

- an issue of common concern. If an arbitrator is required to decide [between two such disputants] he should be a Sikh. [At such times] both Sikhs should hold fast to their Sikh faith. God is witness to all and Dharamraj records all that a liar utters.³⁷³
- 462. He who has someone whom he knows to be a Sikh imprisoned, plundered, or killed. Such a person should be regarded as an evil fiend.
- 463. No Gursikh should have dealings with such a traitor.
- 464. The Sikh who employs another Sikh and then fails to pay him. Have nothing to do with such a person until payment is made.
- 465. He who gives his word and then goes back on it.
- 466. A Sikh with both hands intact who uses his right hand to cleanse himself [after defecation]. 374
- 467. The lax Sikh who eats food or who reads the Granth Sahib without first making every effort to cleanse his body. This he should do by bathing or [at least] by performing the five ablutions.
- 468. The Sikh who promises another Sikh that he will be at home and then [by his absence] causes the other to make a fruitless visit. 375
- 469. He who frustrates the [legitimate] actions of other Sikhs. 376
- 470. If a dispute should occur between a Sikh and his servant it should be referred if possible to a Sikh magistrate. The latter should discharge the requirements of justice and protect the interests of the Sikh.³⁷⁷
- 471. The Sikh who dissimulates, [posing as virtuous while] doing evil. [Such a person] betrays the Guru.
- 472. The Gursikh who invites a Muslim to recite the Kalima. 378
- 473. The Gursikh who vigorously winnows his hair with his hands after bathing. 379
- 474. [Any Sikh who fails to show respect to a place of martyrdom.] Places where Sikhs have given their lives for the Sikh faith should be regarded as shrines of martyrdom³⁸⁰ [and at each such place] a lamp should be kept burning.
- 475. He who defecates in a field of grain or neglects to wash his hands after urinating.
- 476. He who defecates on the bank of any lake, tank, river, stream, or canal. 381
- 477. He who removes his kachh at night and sleeps naked.
- 478. He who sleeps at night without a turban. 382
- 479. He who does not respond sympathetically whenever an aged Sikh or a blind person 383 asks for food.
- 480. He who participates in any religious assembly (sangat) other than one consisting of Sikhs.

- 481. The corrupt Sikh who increases his commission on work performed for Sikhs by taking bribes.
- 482. The Sikh who uses curds made from sheep's milk for washing his hair. 384
- 483. A Sikh who interrupts another while the latter is reading or expounding a shabad [from the Granth Sahib].
- 484. The Sikh who causes grief or distress to another Sikh. As one of the Sants has said:

 Do not cause distress to others if you hope for union with God. 385
- 485. The heedless person who experiences no sense of shame at [having committed any of the five traditional] sins. 386
- 486. He who looks without pity on any Sikh [in need].
- 487. The hypocritical Sikh who poses as one freed [from evil deeds] but who nevertheless follows the wicked ways of the world.
- 488. The Panth is [the domain of] the Supreme Guru [and Sikhs must acknowledge his values, not those of the world].

From the ocean come both shells and jewels. Men covet the jewels and spurn the shells 387

- 489. A Sikh who having been incapacitated by sickness or wounds has daily Ardas offered for his recovery and then fails to serve a [thanksgiving] meal to other Sikhs when he recovers.
- 490. The Sikh who rubs gum-tragacanth 388 or henna 389 on his hands.
- 491. The Sikh who cuts down a tree, such as a ber-tree or any other [useful] variety, while it still bears fruit. 390
- 492. Any Sikh who obtains a copy of the Granth Sahib and keeps it in [his house] without either reading it [himself] or having it read [by someone else].
- 493. The Sikh who keeps the Granth Sahib 391 in a demeaning place [instead of in a place of honour].
- 494. The Sikh who lives in a village where there is a dharamsala and does not visit it.
- 495. The Sikh who, having invited another Sikh to dine, thrice postpones the occasion.
- 496. [Even if he honours the invitation he should take no pride in doing so, for he is not the true giver.] A Sikh eats the food [which is bestowed on him] and thus should not regard himself as a guru or a pir. Only the Guru can be regarded as great [for he it is who bestows our food on us].
- 497. He who calls himself a Sikh should never claim to be a giver, [merely a receiver of the Guru's bounty]. 392
- 498. The Gursikh who passes a dharamsala while worship is in progress and fails to enter. If while proceeding along a road he comes to a dharamsala where a sangat is singing kirtan and reading from the Granth Sahib he should enter and prostrate himself.
- 499. The Sikh who seats Sikhs behind Brahmans [at a meal]. When a Sikh invites both Sikhs

and Brahmans to dine he should not place [the Brahmans] in front and [the Sikhs] behind them. All should be required to sit together in rows.³⁹³

- 500. The Sikh who knowingly serves food [to Brahmans before serving others].
- 501. Any Sikh who destroys the blissful atmosphere of kirtan by squabbling over worldly affairs while it is in progress.
- 502. He who differentiates the ten incarnations [of the Guru, claiming that they were separate and distinct individuals rather than ten manifestations of the one Guru].
- 503. [He who fails to observe the correct marriage procedure.] A Gursikh should take other Sikhs with him as a marriage party and have the wedding performed at the house of the bride's father. 394
- 504. [He who neglects to practise $n\bar{a}m$ japan .] A Gursikh should continuously repeat 'Praise to the Guru' ($v\bar{a}h$ $gur\bar{u}$).
- 505. He who extinguishes a lamp by blowing it out with his own breath or by snuffing it with his hand. It should be extinguished by waving a fan or a piece of cloth. 395
- 506. He who administers baptism of the sword to a Sikh woman. 396
- 507. He who scorns the food which he is offered.

 The grain [which sustains us] is bestowed [upon us] by God. 397

 Granth Sahib
- 508. He who says 'That's enough $(parh\ chhadia)$ ' [after reading from] the Granth Sahib. A Gursikh should ask for more to be read.
- 509. He who offers [karah] prasad which has already been sampled; and he who inserts a piece of straw as a bookmark in a copy of the Granth Sahib after completing a reading.³⁹⁸
- 510. He who speaks of 'drying' his hair after washing it. [In order to show due respect to his kes a Gursikh] should speak of 'refreshing' it. 399
- 511. He who refers to 'drying' his slate after washing it. 400
- 512. He who abandons a companion while travelling.
- 513. The Sikh who treacherously misdirects another Sikh.
- 514. He who, while engaged in drawing water from a well, refuses a Sikh who asks for a drink of water.
- 515. The Sikh who causes unnecessary inconvenience to another Sikh who has been travelling [and is tired].
- 516. He who neglects to salute the divine sun [each morning].

 Hail to the Sun of suns! Hail to the Moon of moons! 401

- The Tenth Master

- 517. The Sikh who harbours jealousy. 402
- 518. He who walks around with head uncovered, thus getting dust in his hair.

- 519. He who sits bare-headed in a bazar. 403
- 520. He who travels bare-headed.
- 521. He who eats bare-headed.
- 522. The adult male Sikh⁴⁰⁴ who lets a woman pick the insects out of his hair.⁴⁰⁵
- 523. He who throws a stone⁴⁰⁶ at a dog without good reason.
- 524. He who negligently lets his kes remain tangled. 407
- 525. He who sits in the presence of women with his kes hanging loose. 408
- 526. He who refers to his kes as 'hair'.
- 527. He who does nothing about insects which have lodged in his kes.
- 528. He who touches his kes with dirty hands.
- 529. He who talks while the Guru's kirtan is being sung. 409
- 530. He who awakens a sleeping Sikh by rudely kicking him.
- 531. The Gursikh who betrays another Gursikh's trust.
- 532. Two Sikhs who are fighting and who ignore the command of a Sikh bystander to desist.
- 533. Any Sikh who fails to heed the advice of another Sikh. 410
- 534. The Sikh who pretends to be the equal of his Guru.
- 535. Any Sikh who does not know Japji by heart. Have nothing to do with such a person. 411
- 536. He who expresses dissatisfaction with whatever the Satguru may have conferred on him [in response to a petition]. 412 As the Granth Sahib says [of the Satguru]

You are the True One, all your deeds are true. 413

It adds:

All your deeds are perfect and complete, marred by neither need nor excess.414

537. He who does not provide shelter and hospitality in his village to a Sikh from another area who has been caught by a lengthy spell of rain.

Gursikhs should always be on their guard against robbers, pilferers, impostors, and cheats. ⁴¹⁵ The Panth is the Guru's and in due time it will grow and expand. In the meantime, however, human affections will recede. [All sense of] good and evil will be confused and confounded. The Guru's Sikhs must remain ever alert. ⁴¹⁶

538. [He who permits a woman to read the Granth Sahib in public.] A woman should not read the Granth Sahib in a Sikh assembly. Women may, however, listen [to it being read at an assembly].

- 539. [He who participates in a woman's satsang.] Women may read [the scriptures] in $\mathfrak n$ gathering of women. The male Sikhs should meanwhile sit elsewhere.
- 540. The Sikh who talks while defecating.
- 541. He who eats confectionery 417 or other food which has been offered as an oblation by a Muslim official.
- 542. He who removes his turban before eating.
- 543. He who extinguishes a fire with water left over after drinking. 418
- 544. He who while sitting in the company of Sikhs speaks without due regard for normal conventions. 419 The Granth Sahib warns us:

He who fails to control his tongue will be struck down in the hereafter 420 It further warns us:

He who talks excessively in the assembly [of the devout] will be accounted a uscless fellow. 421

- 545. He who refuses to apologise after offending other Sikhs by gross disourtesy.
- 546. He who patronises or protects apostates, 422 delinquents ($tanakh\bar{a}h\bar{i}e$), impostors, cheats, thieves, adulterers or gamblers.
- 547. The Sikh who kills his daughter or who associates with any of the five proscribed groups $(pa\bar{n}j\ mel\).^{423}$
- 548. [Unrepentant robbers.] Have no dealings with anyone who plunders and robs unless he apologises.

A Gursikh should accept the Sikh faith as set forth by the Granth Sahib. Living in this world is like tarrying but a night as a traveller from beyond.

[Each dwells] in this world like a shepherd in his pasture.424

- Granth Sahib

We mortals are here for but a fleeting moment, ignorant of the time when we must depart. 425

- Granth Sahib

549. The various offences, regulations and penalties specified herein are applicable only to Gursikhs, They do not concern [their] servants or other people.

The duties of a Sikh woman (Gursikhni)

550. A Gursikhni should not bathe naked, [nor] should she stand naked in water and cast it towards the sun. [She should show] water and the sun [the same respect and deference as she would her] father. 426

- 551. A Gursikhni should neither prepare nor serve food if she is dirty. [She should bathe before doing so.]
- 552. A Gursikhni should not abuse nor berate a man, nor should she fight with men. 427
- 553. A Gursikhni should sir with head covered in a satsang.
- 554. When a Gursikhni learns how to read the Granth she should abandon worldly styles [of speaking and singing]. She should sing the [traditional] folk songs. She should spurn vulgar

jokes, coarse songs, 428 and filthy language.

- 555. A Gursikhni should not keep the company of men other than those of her own family, nor should she sit with malicious women exchanging gossip with them.
- 556. A Gursikhni should sustain a placid and dutiful disposition. She should regard her husband as her Lord. Other [male relatives] should be treated in accordance with their actual status whether father, brother, or son.
- 557. She should instruct her husband in [the principles of] the Sikh faith. The men of the Kaliyuga are the disciples of women [bound to them by the ties of sexual desire]. Instruction imparted to men by a Sikhni is therefore effectual.
- 558. A Gursikhni should serve better food to any Sikh who is in need than to the members of her own family.
- 559. A Gursikhni should learn portions of the Guru's scripture by heart. Twice a day she should visit a dharamsala and prostrate herself [before the Granth Sahib]. 429
- 560. With cotton which she has herself spun she should weave cloth and, as her resources permit, offer it to the Guru as either a wrapping-cloth (rumāl) for the Granth Sahib or as a covering (chādar) [for the dharamsala floor]. 430
- 561. A Gursikhni should set aside a handful of flour ($\bar{a}t\bar{a}$) from the family's daily supply and dedicate it to the Guru by giving it to [her local] dharamsala or to a needy Sikh. The Guru gives us this assurance:

When a Gursikh has food to eat the Satguru shares the satisfaction. 431

- Granth Sahib

- 562. A Gursikhni should always ensure that she has cleansed herself from pollution [before undertaking any cooking task]. She should keep herself physically pure and avoid actions which defile. [Before entering her cooking area] she should cleanse herself with water and fresh earth. While kneading dough or cooking food in her cooking area (chaukā) she should refrain from speaking in order to avoid the [accidental] emission of spittle.
- 563. While preparing food a Gursikhni should wash her hands after clearing her nose or scratching her body. Small children, innocent [of the procedures for avoiding pollution], should not be brought into the cooking area. Such children should be carefully watched until the food is ready.
- 564. A Gursikhni should not attend the mourning ceremony⁴³² of [a deceased member] of one of the five proscribed groups (pañj mel).⁴³³ She should not give tokens of friendship to members of any of the five proscribed groups, nor should she accept any such gift from them.⁴³⁴
- 565. When ceremonies requiring gifts are held at her own home she should make an offering to the dharamsala. At weddings she should not indulge in ridicule, mockery, or coarse songs. The songs which she sings should always be wholesome songs. She should sing only chaste songs of nuptial blessing, and she should never utter anything obscene.
- 566. A Gursikhni should bathe or [at least] perform the five ablutions before reciting the Guru's mantra. She should not accept [the superstitious belief that] tombs and cenotaphs [are auspicious places to offer prayers]. Let her accept only the guidance of the Guru and believe in none but the Guru, her husband, and the congregation of the faithful (satisangat).
- 567. She must sustain the loyalty which a wife should bestow on her husband and on no

other. 436 This, as the Granth Sahib makes clear, is her bounden duty (sat dharam). Let her bo dutiful, wise, placid, a treasury [of virtue], gentle in speech, careful of reputation, and tender

These injunctions are intended for both Gursikhs and Gursikhnis. Birth as a human being is a gift of rare value, one which should not be senselessly squandered.

By serving the Guru one finds the path of true devotion, and thus [from the devotion of an earlier incarnation] one obtains [again] the body of a human being. The gods [themselves] seek this human incarnation, so use this body to dwell upon God and serve [Him faithfully]. 437

- Granth Sahih

568. The Guru $(v\bar{a}hagur\bar{u})$ is present [wherever Sikhs gather] in a plenary assembly and he who witnesses any such gathering of Sikhs actually beholds the Guru (guru). The Guru (gura) has declared: 'I am present in a plenary assembly [and when it speaks it does so as my voice]. Accept a plenary Sikh sangat as the Guru (gurdeu). 438 Hold fast to the Sikh faith and steadfastly observe the Rahit.'

APOCALYPTIC PROPHECIES OF CHAOS, DOOM AND ULTIMATE TRIUMPH

Once again the style changes abruptly as the compiler, having finally disposed of his Chaupa Singh Rahit material, returns to his narrative source. The tenor of the resumed narrative is, however, very different from that of the earlier section (157-285). Whereas the earlier section offered a description of times past this continuation purports to be the tenth Guru's foretelling of the future. This it provides in the form of brief anecdotes as well as specific prophecies, all of them expressions of a single dominant theme. The theme is raula, tumult Loyalty to the Guru is dwindling as self-seeking renegades assume control of the Panth. The result is a mounting confusion which will end only with the arrival of the Kalki Avatar. See the introduction, pp.45-47.

Most of the individual items which comprise this section are easily identified by the formula with which they begin. Eight such items commence with the words ik same ('It once happened that . . .') or a similar form (569, 571, 573, 583, 589, 599, 604, 611). Others are more difficult to distinguish (particularly as the text moves towards its increasingly confused conclusion) and four of the following twelve items must accordingly be regarded as arbitrary divisions:

- 1. The coming tumult prophesied by Guru Gobind Singh (569-570)
- 2. The battlefield no place for scholars: Rai Singh sent home (571-572)
- 3. Leading Sikhs express anxiety concerning the coming tumult (573-582)
- 4. Dharam Chand Chhibbar reassured (583-586)
- 5. Faithful Sikhs and treacherous Sikhs (587-588)
- 6. The role of the Khalsa Panth in the coming tumult (589-593)
- 7. The four categories of Sikhs and the ultimate triumph of the Panth (594-598)
- The perils of selfish power and worldliness (599-603)
- 9. The nature of the Khalsa and its ultimate triumph (604-610)
- 10. The Guru's death mysteriously foreshadowed (611-614)
- 11. Future torment and the coming of Kalki (615-640)

12. Conclusion and colophon (641-642).

The copyist responsible for the text followed by GNDU and SRL has recorded one portion of his apocalyptic narrative out of sequence, mistakenly interpolating it while copying his first rahit-nama section (113-115). This misplaced passage does not appear in the PSP text.

569. It was at this time that the Supreme Master 439 declared: In the course of a century my Panth will reach its prime. It will prosper, and grow even stronger until eventually it attains to perfection. Yet even as it grows in strength evil will remain within it, an evil which will be made manifest in the mingling and confounding of all castes within the Panth. 440 The ways of the Muslims (malechh) and other such [barbarians] will be adopted within the Panth. Evil

deeds proceed from evil people [and such people will be found in the Panth]. Outwardly they may look like Sikhs but their actions will be those of bandits, thieves or craven weaklings. 441 Outwardly they may look like Sikhs, but their actions will be those of Muslims. Outwardly they may look like Sikhs, but their actions will be those of vile apostates. 442 They will associate with members of the five proscribed groups (pañi mel) 443 and with the superstitious worshippers of the five pirs (pañj pīrīe). 444 They will be treacherous, ungrateful. promiscuous, evil, malicious and depraved, murderers and thieves who follow no guru, men with filthy tongues. They may look like wise and learned Sikhs [but they will be frauds]. There will be turnult and disorder, for growth to maturity [necessarily] breeds evils. Although there will also be Sikhs who truly love the Guru, the times will be convulsed.

Rare are they [who follow the Guru], few in number; [for most life is] worldly show and idle talk. 445

- Granth Sahib

Such times must surely come.

570. 'The Guru's Sikhs who live through those times must take scrupulous care to observe the Rahit. [They must also take care to keep the Panth free from bogus Sikhs.] It may be that some foul dog-eating wretch⁴⁴⁶ of unknown origin, near or far, will assume the outward forms of the Sikh faith and associate with Sikhs [as if he were a member of the Panth]. If his true identity should become known he should first be exposed and then killed. It was to uphold dharma that the Supreme Master set his Panth apart [from other communities and sects, and for this sacred purpose it must be kept pure].

For this purpose have I come into the world, to turn men away from evil ways, sent by the divine Master to uphold dharma, to plant [and nourish] it wherever I might go. 447

This is the Panth of the Supreme Master, charged with the duty of punishing evil men. The Guru's Sikhs come from all four castes (baran). As far as their Sikh faith is concerned all are required to follow the same common code of behaviour. [In other respects, however,] each should continue to observe the distinctive conventions of his own caste.

571.448Once in S.1759 (1702 A.C.) [there occurred the following incident]. The annual gathering to celebrate Baisakhi had been held and the nacib 449 had been instructed to announce that everyone should go home. The nagib announced in a loud voice that the Supreme Master had instructed all to return to their homes. Hearing the announcement all who were assembled there duly dispersed. All departed except for a Khatri called Rai Singh. The naqib reported [to Guru Gobind Singh] that the gathering had dispersed but that one participant, Rai Singh, still remained.

'If you want to be a faithful Sikh [obey my command and] go to your home,' [the Guru] said to him.

'My Lord,' he answered, 'I have remained here because I have abandoned my home. How

can I be a faithful Sikh in my home when I have no home?'

'Only at home can you be a faithful Sikh, not here,' said [the Guru. 'This is no place for you at present.] You are a literate person, one who knows Persian, whereas here our business has to be war. Because of the designs of [evil] people I must bring about a time of tumult (raula), for only thus can our ends be attained. [In such circumstances you will be a hindrance.] When you witness the turmoil you will think up all sorts of suggestions concerning the way this should be done and that should not be done. You will say, "The Master has made a mistake."

572. '[Instead of flinging yourself into combat] you will sit and listen to what others say, You will think, you will observe, and you will make calculations. But we shall be in the midst of turnult and when the Panth is plunged into turnult it has to fight! If all is calm [my] Sikhs will stay at home and there fall prey to excessive affection for family and possessions. But now, in the coming turnult, there will be no such distractions.' And so [the Guru] sent [Rai Singh] home.

- 573.⁴⁵⁰At that time the [Guru's] maternal uncle Kirpal [Singh],⁴⁵¹ Diwan Sahib Chand, Dharam Chand the treasurer, Kaur Singh Chandra, [the brothers] Darbari and Gharbarl Mal,⁴⁵² Bhai Chhauna Singh,⁴⁵³ and all the other [leading] Sikhs together petitioned [the Guru, saying], 'Lord, you have declared that this [coming] tumult is [in accordance with] your own intention. Wise counsel cannot survive in the midst of disorder, O Lord. It must surely be destroyed. If wise counsel goes what will happen to the Sikh faith (sikhī)? When the Sikh faith declines hell will assert its authority.'
- 574. 'The wise counsel of the Loyal Sikhs will endure, Uncle,' replied the Guru. 'The wisdom which will not survive is the kind of attitude adopted by those vicious unruly Sikhs (raule de sikh) who follow the Way of Avarice (māikī panth).
- 575. 'Such people will appear within the Panth, people who observe neither the divine Word nor the Rahit. When political authority is conferred on the Panth these Rapacious Sikhs will be well established in it. Even now there are some [of these people within the Panth].'
- 576. 'Will these vicious unruly Sikhs who are to appear be found everywhere?' 454 asked Diwan Sahib Chand and Chhauna Singh.
- 577. 'We already have them everywhere,' answered the Guru, 'and they will be present within the Panth during the time which is to come. [As in the past] some have submitted to the nine Masters and have thus been numbered amongst the Enlightened, [so in the future there will be those who are loyal to the Gurus]. Others will attach their loyalties to the Way of
- 578. 'These vicious Sikhs will be born in the homes of demon Singhs. They will themselves grow up to be demon Sikhs and they will worm their way into the Panth.
- 579. 'It is well known how in the Treta-yuga the Khatris brought forth demons as offspring and Parasuram slew them. 455 Why were these Khatris slain? Because one of them had killed a [pious Brahman] servant [of the gods]. Khatris are the servants of Brahmans and should not pretend to be their equals. The offspring of [the Khatri] Sahansarbahu became demons and thus brought ruin on all Khatris.
- 580. 'And then there was that demon born in the Yadava tribe. Can a servant mock Gurus [and escape unpunished? Thus it was that] because the demon [Kansa] was born a Yadava Krishna had him destroyed by a curse from [the rishi] Durvasa.
- 581. 'Wicked men secure power and influence in all regimes. Vicious Sikhs of evil understanding will follow the Way of Avarice. Such people will render service neither [to the Guru nor to the Panth]. They will spurn all that is good all service, love, devotion, mercy, Rahit observance and piety.
- 582. 'Whether [such] be king or pauper he shall [assuredly] act in accordance with his devilish nature.'
- 583. Dharam Chand, the Guru's Brahman treasurer, 456 once asked [his Master], 'What will happen to me, my Lord? [Hitherto] I have lived on the bounty afforded by gifts made to the Guru, but such gifts possess an awesome sanctity [and I can no longer continue to use them]. But what can I do and where can I go? While accepting this bounty I have been able to raise my family, [but what should I do now]?'
- 584. 'Dharam Chand,' answered the Guru 'your family has [for long] been a part of the

- Guru's retinue and still belongs to it. Your father Daragah Mal received his appointment during the time of the seventh Master and served him as diwan. As a child you lived with your father's relatives, 457 both of them also diwans and serving as such in the retinue of Guru Tegh Bahadur. You belong to the Guru. Where else should you go? There is no place for you apart from the house of the Guru. [The world beyond is like an ocean of] turbulent water where those who cannot swim must drown.
- 585. 'Fish, however, do not drown. ⁴⁵⁸ You were born in the Guru's house and here you were nurtured to manhood. If you leave it you will suffer hell. [Remain here] and receive all that you need. Do not be ashamed [of accepting the Guru's bounty.' Hearing this the grateful] Dharam Chand prostrated himself [before the Guru. While this was taking place] I, Chaupa Singh, had been standing in attendance. ⁴⁵⁹
- 586. 'Chaupa Singh,' commanded the Guru, 'bring paper.' I brought paper [and the Guru] dictated a testimonial: 'Dharam Chand is my [loyal disciple]. Whoever obeys Dharam Chand shall be blessed.'
- 587. 'Sikhs who put their faith in the Guru shall possess understanding as firm as an anvil⁴⁶⁰ and shall remain ever mindful [of their loyalty to him], whereas those vicious unruly Sikhs shall be the embodiment of all evils. They will have no faith in the Guru. Every sin that exists they will commit
- 588. 'And yet even from amongst these [reprobates] some will prove to be Loyal Sikhs and will subsequently give their lives in battle against the Muslim [oppressors]. These Loyal Sikhs will, however, be very few in number. 461
- 589. Dalla Brar once put a question to the Guru [while he was staying at Damdama Sahib] in the Lakhi Jungle. 462 This happened during the Maghi mela held [there] in S.1760 (1704 A.C.). 463 The [Guru's] reception (darabār) was being held and I, Chaupa Singh, was standing nearby. 'My Lord,' [said Dalla], 'all four of your sons have been taken to Heaven (dev lok). Not one has been spared. 464 What hope can there be for the Panth [now that they are gone]? Who will be guardian of the Panth [after your death]? The Muslim [rulers] are hostile and there is going to be open conflict between them and the Panth. You have [already] turned [your] followers into Singhs. Have them take up arms. The Muslims are very strong.'
- 590. The individual seats of authority [within the Panth]⁴⁶⁵ will be abolished, Dalla,' replied [the Guru]. The promise was that there should be ten incumbents [which means that after the tenth there will no longer be a personal Guru]. It was for this reason that the masands had to be rooted out, for had this not been done each would have set himself up as a guru. The authority of the Guru is to pass to the Khalsa assembly (sarabat khālsā). Its guarantee will be the divine Word of the Guru and its guardian will be Akal Purakh. Sparrows, imbued with the strength of Bhagvati, ⁴⁶⁶ will fell hawks. The power of the Muslim will be broken. I shall send a servant to wage war against them.
- 591. 'I shall send one 467 who will wreak vengeance on the Muslims and force them to submit. 468 Armed Singhs shall arise in the Panth as of old and they shall do battle [against the Muslim enemy].'
- 592. 'Who is this servant, O Lord, and when will he arise?' asked Dalla. 'And what is this Khalsa to which the Guru's authority is to be transmitted?'

593. 'It shall be a Khalsa unstained by worldly blemish,' answered [the Guru]. 'They who are able to recognise the Guru will become one with the Guru and will perceive him present in [the assembly of] all [his followers] (sarabat vich gurū). He who will come [to lead the Panth is] a sadhu. 459 He will appear nine months and nine days after my death.'

* * *

- 594. Thus did Guru Gobind Singh explain [to his Sikhs what was to happen]. In S.1762 (1705 A.C.), during the month of Baisakh, [the Guru] met an ascetic Bairagi sadhu⁴⁷⁰ and delivered a confidential message to him.⁴⁷¹ Whatever else is to happen in the future the Guru alone knows. What we do know is that he will infuse strength into the Panth so that it will stand [firm against the assaults of its enemies]. What will happen thereafter only the Guru knows.
- 595. There will be battles against the Muslim [oppressors] in the course of which a host of 125,000 will sacrifice their heads for the Guru. It was wrath [directed against those who killed his father] which prompted [the Guru] to create the Panth. 472 Without such wrath there will be no resort to weapons, and wrath must therefore dwell within the Panth forever.
- 596. 'The Guru's [true] Sikhs shall remain faithful to their allegiance,' [declared the Guru]. The kes is the outward symbol of their Sikh faith, the Guru's personal seal. This is the Panth established by the Guru to maintain dharma. The Attendant Sikhs (didārī) proved themselves constant to the end, and so too shall the Enlightened (mukate). The Rapacious (māikī) shall rule, but in their midst there will survive Loyal Sikhs (murīd) who stand firm in the Sikh faith. The Loyal, however, will be few, whereas the Rapacious will abound. 473
- 597. The Panth shall rule until the coming of the Divine One. 474 There shall come a time of great confusion and yet even amongst the Rapacious [Sikhs who dominate the Panth] there will be Loyal Sikhs, lowly menials dressed in filthy rags.

They who are clad inwardly in silk and outwardly in rags walk virtuously in the world. On God [alone] they bestow their affection, [seeking only] to see [Him], behold [Him]. 475

- Granth Sahib

598. 'During that time the Muslim [rulers] will persecute the Sikhs and many will be slain. [But these Sikhs will resist] and they will destroy the power of the Muslims. A Muslim shall arise who shall be the cause of the uprooting of all Muslim authorities. Later a Loyal Sikh (murīd) shall appear and for the space of seven years and three months this man will follow the way of the celibate ascetic. 476 Then shall the Panth grow strong. 477

In obedience to the Guru's command Devi Das recorded this [prophecy] after pondering

[its meaning].⁴⁷⁸ Only the Guru knows what is to come.

* * *

- 599. On one occasion the Sikhs, having collected five hundred rupees in fines (tanakhāhān), brought [the proceeds] to the Guru and asked that Dharam Chand should be instructed to deposit it in the [Panth's] exchequer. 'What money is this?' asked the Guru. 'Lord, it is the money collected as fines,' [they answered]. 'Let it be used to provide clothing and food for poor Sikhs,' commanded the Guru.
- 600. Thus the Supreme Master showed his concern for the poor. When the Rapacious Sikhs assume dominance within the Panth such qualities will be neglected. As the Granth says:

The five impostors are dominion, possessions, physical beauty, [an exalted] caste, and youth. These five knaves have deceived the world; no one has remained immune. 479

601. These five [objectives] will typify the Way of Avarice [followed by the Rapacious Sikhs

during the times which are to come]. The Granth Sahib [also] says:

Dominion, physical beauty, wealth and lineage - these sources of pride are all delusions. 480 Such will be the rule [imposed in the days which lie ahead].

One accumulates [only] the poison of deceit and vice; nothing, Nanak, accompanies you [into the hereafter] save only [the divine Name of] God. 481

These are the features which will be characteristic of such a government. [But they shall have their reward], for as the Granth Sahib says:

Be not deceitful, wayward man, for the judgement which in the end [must determine your fate] shall be taken from [the record of] your life. 482

- 602. The rule and government conferred on the Panth [by the Guru] may be one which receives divine grace or it may be one from which grace is withheld. Grace is bestowed on any state or polity in which the Sikh faith is sustained, whereas the abandonment of the Sikh faith can only mean that it will be withheld. If in any state the practice of the Sikh faith is obstructed reason will take flight.
- 603. [In such circumstances stable] government will be succeeded by [the chaos of] hell. If the Guru's Sikhs and Sikhnis stand firm good will must [eventually] prevail in the affairs of a state. If the state is regarded as the Guru's domain loyal service and devout faith will be preserved. Material possessions will be purified and poverty overcome.

As I receive the Master's message so do I make it known, O beloved 483

- 604. On one occasion Dharam Chand, the [Guru's] Treasurer, and Kaur Singh Chandra asked the following question: 'My Lord, you have said that you are present when all [your people assemble] and that the Khalsa is your body. In every particle [the Khalsa is the body of the Guru and] the Guru is the Khalsa. 484 You have also said that you have permitted sin to have a place within the Panth. For the Panth's sake you have broken the power of the Muslim [oppressors]. For the sake of the Panth you conducted a mighty fire sacrifice (hom). 485 Why then, O Master, should sin [be permitted to] survive [within the Panth] while you are present?'
- 605. 'Wherever the plenary body [of my followers] gathers there I shall be present,' replied the Guru. 'The corporate body is the Guru Khalsa. Nothing should depend on a single person.
- 606. 'Whenever my Sikhs wage war against the Muslim [oppressors] for the sake of loyalty to dharma and the Sikh faith I shall there be visible in their midst. See me present wherever the sacred scriptures are recited, religious discourse is conducted, or kirtan is sung. They who act according to my commandments are the Khalsa. They who share their food with others are the members of my physical body. Righteous deeds and actions which accord with the Rahit are the very hairs of my body. This [new] dharma, [the Khalsa], had to be inaugurated in order that [the rule of] the Muslims might be destroyed. On it the power to rule had to be conferred in order that the Sikh faith might be sustained.'
- 607. [The Guru then added]: 'Sin I have permitted to remain in order that hell may be filled [with sinners].' Hearing this [latter] pronouncement [the Guru's] uncle Kirpal Singh and the other Sikhs retired to their quarters 486 and discussed what they had heard. 'If such [sinners] are to be given a place under the rule of the Panth the result will be division and angry passions,' [said Kirpal Singh]. 'Discord will produce disorder. Disasters will occur. Angry passions mean warfare, fighting, hostility. As the Granth Sahib says:

The proud, dying painful deaths in their pride, are not called heroes. Blind people! They fail to comprehend their true selves and are consumed in the fire of worldly affection. With fierce anger they struggle, their whole existence an eternity of suffering. As the Vedas proclaim, God has no love for pride. Steeped in pride the proud die unredeemed, condemned to the round of death and rebirth. 487

608. When the [Guru's] uncle included in his speech a quotation from sacred scripture the

Sikhs who heard him were astonished. [He then quoted another] extract from the Granth Sahib:

Worthless is that state which causes [its people] to forget the [true] Lord. 488

- 609. In due course Kirpal Singh put [another] question [to the Guru]. 'My Lord, how will Sikhs obtain deliverance [from the round of transmigration] under the rule [of the Rapacious]?' [he asked]. 'When that happens, Uncle,' answered the Guru, 'there will still be Loyal Sikhs (murId) who regard everything as the gift of the Guru [and thus sustain their allegiance to him.]'
- 610. 'But how can this be when they are so few in number?' [said Kirpal Singh. In response the Guru quoted] a passage from the Granth Sahib.

The food consumed by those who are imbued with the divine Name is always pure. And sacred are the homes, temples, palaces and inns which give shelter to the devout, to Sikhs and to renunciants. Sacred [also] are the horses and saddle-cloths on which ride the Guru's followers, Sikhs, members of the congregation of the faithful. All is pure if done by those who utter the eternal Name of God. Faithful Sikhs whose treasure is piety seek and find shelter in the abode of the Guru. 489

After the rule [of these, the Loyal Sikhs, has been established] there shall be no other. Theirs is [to be] the final dominion.'

- 611. During the month of Poh, S.1763 (1706/07 A.C.),⁴⁹⁰ there occurred [the following incident. It happened late at night], an hour and a half after midnight. The double-wick lamps placed on the southern [wall of the Guru's room] were burning, the door was shut, and the watchmen were sitting [outside]. The Master was sleeping peacefully and I, Chaupa Singh, having massaged his sacred feet, had also dropped off to sleep. Suddenly an apparition appeared. There, standing [before us], was [the figure of] a sadhu. The Master awoke and hearing his call I too was roused from sleep.
- 612. [The ghostly visitor] gave the Supreme Master a piece of paper. Having read it he commanded: 'Summon Dharam Chand.'⁴⁹¹ [The Master then said to the sadhu], 'Some of my work has been completed, Brother, but some still remains. When it is done I shall join you. I have two and three quarter years of this life still to run. There is a yogi's hut by the Mandakani, ⁴⁹² in the shadow of Mailagar. ⁴⁹³ Go there [and wait for me].'
- 613. The [Master's] uncle wrote all this down and the Master put his mark of approval on what had been written. The sadhu took [the paper] and immediately vanished. "Who was that person and from where had he come?" asked Uncle [Kirpal Singh]. "Who sent him?" The Guru did not reply.
- 614. The devout and learned members of his following discussed what had taken place and concluded that [the tenth Master] was to be summoned in the same manner as the first. 494 Wondrous is the Master! How can we ordinary mortals perceive things [which are accessible only to those possessing divine powers]?
- 615. Later dark [times] will descend upon [the world] and the Kaliyuga will assert [its power]. Thus says Devi Das who expounds the ancient works dealing with the physical nature of the world. Such times must come as the Granth Sahib, the ancient scriptures and the Puranas foretell. Virtue will diminish while evil waxes strong. Natural disasters will occur, ⁴⁹⁵ [signifying the tumult of the times]. Sexual promiscuity ⁴⁹⁶ contrary to all decency, [will produce] a confounding of castes throughout the world.

616. The Master has declared:

All peoples shall be the offspring of mixed castes. The dharma of the Kshatriya shall cease to exist. 497 As the Granth Sahib says:

The Kaliyuga is a knife, its kings are butchers, dharma has taken wing and flown. The dark night of falsehood has fallen and the moon of Truth is invisible. Where [O where] has it fled?498

Such times are to come.

617. What will happen to sensible people at such a time? The Granth Sahib says:

[The heedless wretch] who lives as in a dark well fails to recognise his duty though he be [plainly] told. Inwardly blind, his mind an inverted lotus; thus he appears as one crippled [and deformed]. 499

Such people will be plainly recognisable [as evil], their hearts filthy and degraded. Others, however, will continue to follow the path of duty appointed by the Supreme Master [Guru Gobind Singh]. The Granth Sahib tells us:

He who understands the true meaning of what he utters...

What manner of person is he?

...such a person is both wise and handsome.500

Such are the Gursikhs, the Loyal Sikhs, behaving thus whether entrusted to rule, blessed with wealth or stricken by poverty. But they shall be few, whereas the reprobates shall be many. The Granth Sahib continues:

[The heedless] know not the $n\bar{a}d$ [of the yogi], neither do they know the [pandit's Veda], the sweet song [of the bhagat], nor even the distinction between right and wrong. Such a Sikh possesses no wisdom, no intelligence or understanding, not even the capacity to read a single letter of the alphabet.

To such [the Guru] declares:

Truly such people are donkeys, Nanak, taking pride in their lack of virtue. 501

618. Such will be the vicious unruly Sikhs, ⁵⁰² [the Rapacious Sikhs], whether they be rulers, whether they be rich, whether they be poor. Outwardly they may appear to be worthy scholars, strict adherents of the Rahit, mahants, bhagats, sadhus, or sants. The Tenth Master says [of such people]:

Presenting this false appearance to the world they will hold the people in their sway. When finally their life is brought to an end their dwelling-place will be in hell. 503

619. This will be their style of living and behaviour. As the Granth Sahib says:

The ignorant worship ignorance. Seduced by falsehood they follow the ways of darkness. 504
They will scorn that which is worthy of worship, choosing instead to worship the unworthy.
They will observe no difference between lawful practice and unlawful. [Instead] they will tell [others] to say a prayer and eat [whatever they wish. The food, they will claim,] has been thus purified. But as the Granth Sahib says:

If one adds spices to harām [food] it does not thereby become halāl. The uttering of falsehood, Nanak, is like eating that which is impure. 505

620. If one should put before them any wise saying of the divine Word of the Guru it will have no effect on them. The Granth Sahib says:

Though the night be dark, white retains its whiteness. Though the [light of] day be bright and blistering hot, black will still remain black. 506

621. The Granth Sahib also says:

They know nothing save how to engage in idle talk. Though they be told the words of Brahma they would not believe them. 507

This hymn by Kabir in Gauri raga perfectly describes these reprobates.

622. There must come a time when evil prevails, [a time described as follows by] the Granth Sahib:

He who follows the truth will be scorned, the ascetic will abandon his discipline. He who remembers the divine Name will be maligned, O Nanak, for such is the nature of the Kaliyuga. 508

During that time the cardinal sins will be committed openly.⁵⁰⁹ [These are]:

Killing a Brahman.

Cohabiting with the wife of a Brahman.

Cohabiting with a raja's wives.

Cohabiting with women of one's own sub-caste (got).

Cohabiting with the wife of an ascetic.

Killing a fellow disciple of one's own guru (gurabhāi).

Killing one's own parents.

Cohabiting with the wife of a guru.

Traitors and villains will appear, [evil] signs [of evil times].

- 623. Such is the nature of the Kaliyuga. Men will behave like beasts, the population will decrease, and the water in the streams will dwindle. Cow's milk will taste like rain-water and children will be fathered on immature girls. [People will be scattered], their villages separated by hundreds of miles. Greed will abound, and men will have faith in neither the Vedas nor the Puranas. They will spurn virtue and they will neglect the obligations of dharma. Such are the conditions imposed by the Kaliyuga.
- 624. The Kaliyuga will last for 835 years⁵¹⁰ and then shall the Satiyuga begin. In the house of a Brahman living in the town of Sambhal there shall be born Nihakalank, [the Kalkin] avatar.⁵¹¹ [He will be born] on a Monday, the fifth day of the light half of the month of Magh, [raised] to vindicate [the honour of] the Brahman Bishan Das, to destroy sinners, to uphold the rule of dharma. In the words of the Tenth Master:

He who is known as the Kalkin Avatar shall come to destroy all evil, on a Turkish steed as swift as a bird, with naked sword brandished aloft. Radiant his presence he shall take his place, like a lion rampant on a mountain peak. Blessed is he who comes from Sambhal, God who shall enter here his sacred dwelling place. 512

- 625. When Nihakalank rides forth from the land of the gods⁵¹³ then shall the Satiyuga dawn. It will be initiated in the house of a Brahman on the ninth day of the light half of the month of Kattak. Men will be twenty-one cubits tall and each will live for a hundred thousand years. Each man's food will amount to twenty-three maunds. There will be five Vishnu avatars [during the Satiyuga]: the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-Lion, and the Dwarf. [In this era] dharma, truth and virtue will flourish, and evil shall be destroyed. The Satiyuga will last for 1,728,000 [years].⁵¹⁴
- 626. The Tretayuga will then begin, initiated in the house of a Khatri on the third day of the light half of the month of Vaisakh. Men will be fourteen cubits tall. The Tretayuga will run for 1,296,000 [years. Each man's] food will amount to three maunds. There will be two avatars, Parasuram and Ram. One part evil will be mixed with three parts virtue.
- [627.] Then the Duaparayuga will begin, initiated in the house of a Sudra on the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Magh. Men will be seven cubits tall and [each man's] food will amount to twelve seers. Each man will live for a thousand years. Evil and virtue will be equally mixed and there will be two avatars, Krishna and the Buddha. The duration of the yuga will be 864,000 [years].
- [628.] The Kaliyuga will then begin, initiated in the house of a Chandal on the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of Bhadron. Men will be three and a half cubits tall and they will live for a hundred years. Three parts evil will be mixed with one part virtue. There will be one avatar, Nihakalank [or the Kalkin avatar]. The duration of the Kaliyuga will be 432,000 years. These are the four yugas⁵¹⁵ and their [total] duration will be 4,380,000 [human] years.⁵¹⁶As the Tenth Master has said:

[Men] come and go, carried on by the cycle of yugas. 517

- [629.] When in this manner seventy-two cycles of the four yugas have been completed the reign of one Indra will have run its course. This [period of seventy-two cycles] is called a manvantar. There are twenty-eight days and nights of Indra in a [day] of Brahma⁵¹⁸ and Brahma's lifetime lasts for a hundred years. When 590,000 [?human years] have elapsed during the course of [a day] of Brahma [the period thus covered] will amount to a single ghari⁵¹⁹ of Vishnu. Thus a hundred years of Vishnu [will pass].
- 630. When 1,200,000 [?years] of Vishnu have elapsed it will be but the twinkling of an eye [in terms of a] Rudra [epoch].⁵²⁰ Joined together these brief instants, gharīs, and days [constitute a year, and the period] of Rudra lasts for a hundred [such] years.
- 631. Eleven Rudra [periods] constitute the twinkling of an eye [in terms of an epoch] of Isar. 521 When these [brief instants are added together to form] days [and eventually] years, [the period] of Isar lasts for a hundred years.
- 632. Thirty-two Isar [periods] equal a single day and night of Devi Mata.
- 633. The Devi's [period] lasts for a hundred years.
- 634. A thousand Devi [periods] constitute a kalap (kalpa).
- 635. And what is a *kalap*? It is the fourth dimension (gun,) of the Formless One, the embodiment of spirit. Behold [what happens in] the twinkling of His eye. As the Granth Sahib says:

He destroys and recreates in the twinkling of an eye. And none can comprehend the mystery, 522

- 636. Who can comprehend his infinity?
- 637. He is boundless, infinite! The Tenth Master has declared:
- 638. He bears neither symbol nor sign, caste nor lineage ...⁵²³ The Tenth Master is [himself] the offspring of this perfect embodiment of the divine spirit. He is the Perfect One, [immaculately conceived]. How can one recognise him, he who is thus [immaculately] perfect, he whose body derives no element from the flesh of a woman? Everyone else bears on his chest the signs of a woman's breasts. ⁵²⁴ The Perfect One, however, bears no such sign, [nor any of the other signs which mark mere mortals]. His [powerful] arms reach below his knees. He who springs from perfect origins will himself be perfect. Such is [the Tenth Master], the Perfect One. Sants are highly exalted, [but they are not to be compared with the Perfect One].
- 639. As an obedient follower of the [Perfect] One the Gursikh will not permit his Sikh faith to be compromised by worldly temptations . . . Hearing about the Guru makes him supremely happy. As the Granth Sahib says:

What, asks Nanak, can I give to him who tells me what the Master has said? Severing my head and offering it as a stool I shall serve him headless, [he who has brought me that most precious of gifts]. 525

640. And what manner of Sikh is he who delivers such a report? Again the Granth Sahib supplies the answer: 'You who have yourself found release, carry me over [to freedom].' He will be a [true] Gursikh, not one of the vicious unruly Sikhs (raule dā sikh). How will one recognise the latter? He will be the kind of person who is impervious to the [Guru's] teachings. The Granth Sahib says [of such people]:

The manamukh is [as impermeable as] a rock or a block of stone, his contemptible life wasted

in futility. No matter how often [a rock] is immersed in water it will always remain dry within,526

641. It is very difficult to secure birth [as a human]. Having found the [true] Guru do not waste [your precious opportunity] on futile pursuits. The material things of this world wealth, dominion, wife, friends and sons - are all ephemeral. They come and in due course they go. One enters [this life] with nothing and one leaves with nothing. These [material things and these relationships all] involve obligations and one must take care that in acquiring them one does not subvert one's Sikh faith.

- 642. The [Guru's] teachings, the Sikh Rahit, and [the discipline of] meditation are the common duty of all. One must hold to the Sikh faith in whatsoever condition one may be placed. Whether one be set in authority, [whether one be consigned] to riches or to poverty, each must keep his future state in mind and for its sake must uphold the Sikh faith and discharge the Rahit. It is the benevolent Sikhs who find release, attained by dwelling in the presence of the eternal Guru (pūran purakh abināsī).
- 643. The Supreme Guru ($v\bar{a}hagur\bar{u}$) in his mercy performed that most wondrous deed, the creation of the Panth; and on Chaupa Singh he conferred the gift of understanding [whereby the recording of this rahit-nama was made possible. The original document bears] the signature of Bulaka Singh, the amanuensis⁵²⁷ appointed with the approval of the Master [Guru Gobind Singh. The present copy of] the rahit-nama was recorded at the instance of Gurbakhsh Singh, son of the Guru's treasurer Dharam Chand the Chhibbar Brahman. 528

ADDENDUM

Although the first recension of the Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama evidently concluded with the colophon recorded in 643 the GNDU/SRL text also includes a brief three-part addendum. It comprises:

1. The Guru's promise to the faithful (644-646)

2. Blessing conferred by the Guru on Bhai Mittu and his descendants (647)

3. A concluding denunciation of false Sikhs (647).

644. During these present times, as in times past and in the future, the Sikh faith is for Gurmukh Sikhs who observe the Rahit. [It is not for the worldly], those who are destined for hell because their concern is the accumulating of wealth. Spending such wealth on useless objects is the way of the proud and self-centred. As the Granth Sahib says:

Only by sinning does one acquire [worldly possessions] and at death none of them can accompany you [into the hereafter]. 529

645. The Guru's Sikhs will never neglect their duty of obedience to the Sikh faith. [The discipline which it enjoins is] the regular observance which the Supreme Guru (vāhagurū pūran purakh) requires [of his followers]. 530 As the Granth Sahib says:

No one asks for a record [of your deeds] if the Guru has granted forgiveness. 531

646. And as Bhai Gurdas says:

Hearing that [God] loves bhagats I was sad at heart, but hope revived when I learnt that He restores the sinful. I trembled within when I heard that He knows our inner thoughts, but fear and confusion departed when I learnt that He is merciful to the lowly. Sustained by rain the simmal-tree lives without bearing fruit, yet even [the simmal] will assume the fragrance of sandal-wood⁵³² when it grows in the land of the sandal-tree.⁵³³ Though my own actions may

not cast me into hell yet shall I crave the protection, conferred by following in your way. 534

647. The Granth Sahib testifies [to the true Sikh]:

I am eternally heedless and the record [of my deeds] will never earn me release. Giver of forgiveness, Nanak [prays], pardon [my misdeeds] that I may cross over [to freedom] .535 There were [devout] Sikhs of this kind in former times upon whom the grace of the Guru rested. They who lived pious lives during the time of the first Master, Guru Nanak, won approval [and thus attained release]. Consider Mittu and Malla, Sikh landowners who were delivered into the care of Baba Budha and [there] found happiness. Subsequently Mittu had a son Dayala, and Dayala [in turn] had a son Lal Man. 536 The Gurus showed favour to [Mittu's] family. 'Bhai Mittu,' [promised the Guru], 'your descendants shall be mahants, accepted [as spiritual guides] by the Guru's Sikhs.'

There will be many vicious, unruly impostor Sikhs [during the time of trial. Eventually, however,] they will be reduced to poverty and to begging from Sikhs [who have remained true. For their misdeeds] they will be punished by the [true] Sikhs. As the Tenth Master says:

He who turns away [from the Guru], stripped of all wealth, how can such a Sikh ask for anything?537 With evil words [these spurious Sikhs] will destroy faith and distract the loyalty of Sikhs who would otherwise remain true. Regard them as non-Sikhs. As the Tenth Master says:

Heedless of the Guru, they speak [words of malice], not of goodness.

Hell must be their ultimate end. 538 Such will be [the nature and behaviour of] these vicious, unruly Sikhs. They will not accept even the sacred scriptures. Benevolence and sacred duty will find no place amongst them. [Whatever their pretensions they will be spurious and] must be reprobated. The Tenth Master declares:

Let the Sikhs be liberated; non-Sikhs destroyed! 539 These non-Sikhs will follow no one [preferring rather their own perverse ways. Therefore] put no trust in them.

[By the grace of] the true Name this rahit-nama has been completed.

THE NAND LAL RAHIT-NAMA

By the grace of the Eternal One, the True Guru

An account of how the Tenth Master [expounded] the Rahit⁵⁴⁰

Bhai Nand Lal once asked [the Guru]: 'Master, what rituals and duties should Sikhs perform?' 'He who is my Sikh should believe in none save the Khalsa,' answered Guru Gobind Singh. 'He should offer worship only in the presence of the divine Word, [the sacred scripture]. He should not visit tombs or cremation grounds, nor should he believe the teachings of Brahmans, Muslims or Mahants. ⁵⁴¹ Believe [only] the teachings of the Guru. And he who is my Sikh should observe no religious ceremony other than [that which is authorised by] the divine Word. [He should specifically renounce the following ceremonies]: head-shaving rituals, ⁵⁴² reciting the Gayatri, making a water-offering, ⁵⁴³ worshipping an idol. He should never put on a dhoti, nor eat with head uncovered; and he should never sit before one of those bare-headed Brahmans. ⁵⁴⁴ A Gursikh should avoid such [external] practices, [for] the Guru is spirit.

'He who is my Sikh should never use a razor. Any Sikh of mine who has used a razor and

removed his beard is like one who commits incest with his daughter.

[Take care never to provoke a Sant.] Your objective may be legitimate, but [if you persist in asking you may try his patience and] evoke the kind of curse from him which turns even amrit into poison. [Sants possess divine power.] As Nanak Bedi has declared, the glory of a [true] Sant is plainly manifest and [by the power of God] he achieves that which he wishes to perform. In obedience to the will of God (paramesar) he does whatever must be done.'

The Guru declares: 'No Sikh of mine should smoke tobacco, nor should he use it as

snuff. 545 Tobacco should be avoided with the same [loathing] as beef.

The Guru commands: 'My Sikhs must heed my words. He who is inattentive to what I say will not obey [my] commands, whereas he who faithfully heeds them shall find rich fulfilment.

'Wearing the sacred thread is a Hindu custom [and is therefore proscribed for a Sikh of the Khalsa]. The emblems which have been conferred on the Khalsa will make a Sikh easily recognisable amidst a hundred thousand Hindus or a hundred thousand Muslims. How can he

conceal himself with a turban on his head, a fine flowing beard, and [uncut] kes?

To accept a sacred thread from a Brahman who smokes tobacco and eats meat would be a most grievous sin. What difference is there between smoking tobacco and eating beef? They are equally [heinous]. A Brahman,' says the Guru, 'should possess a noble character, not an unworthy one. [He should be] an upright person, not a rascal. This means that he should never commit evil deeds. These would plainly indicate that though he be a Brahman by birth he is a Chandal⁵⁴⁶ in terms of behaviour. What sort of Brahman is he who does not read the Vedas? He is no follower of the Guru. Never accept guidance from such a Brahman. Whoever gives gifts to a Brahman of this kind will be reborn as a dog, for his gift will have been grievously misdirected. It will be put to a corrupt use and the result will be ruinous [for the giver].

'Krishna once told Udhav that keeping an *Ikādasī* fast,⁵⁴⁷ feeding a hundred thousand Brahmans, and giving a hundred thousand cows [to a hundred thousand Brahmans together] earn less merit than affectionately feeding a single fellow-disciple. The latter will earn four times the merit [of the former], for a brother in the faith is like the Guru [himself], in that service rendered to a fellow-believer is service to the Master. Guru Nanak has also spoken [to

this effect]:

The Guru is the Sikh and the Sikh who inculcates the message [of truth] is the Guru. When the Guru speaks and the believer responds with faith, then shall it be seen that the Guru sets him free. 548

'He who accepts [another Sikh as] a brother in the faith shall thus grasp the opportunity afforded by human birth to secure release from the round of birth and death.

'People, however, are like sheep. Where one sheep goes there the others follow. Most people do likewise. Evil men who perform religious ceremonies or have worship offered on their behalf achieve nothing but a worldly ritual. [Their piety is futile], for having made a religious offering they proclaim their deed for all to hear. If this is done the effect is nullified. Gursikhs, on the other hand, [follow the practice of] distributing and eating the Guru's prasad⁵⁴⁹ together. This they do after first reading the Guru's Anand⁵⁵⁰ and offering Ardas,⁵⁵¹ accepting it all as the gift of the Guru.

'Ceremonies thus performed achieve complete fulfilment. Whether there be one or many each becomes an [effective] rite, the effects whereof [reach our] forbears⁵⁵² and thus produce [their intended] benefit. [Most] people accept and encourage the practice of offering pious gifts because they are like sheep, [following where others lead]. Because they are like sheep they recoil in fear whenever they encounter any difficulty [and run to the Brahmans]. He who is my Sikh will never seek the services of a Brahman. The ceremonies observed by my Panth were ordained by the Satguru, by Akal Purakh.

'If anyone encounters an obstacle [in any endeavour] he should give prasad⁵⁵³ to five Sikhs. When these five Sikhs have eaten the prasad and recited Ardas his purposes will all be brought

to a satisfactory conclusion.

'He who obeys a brother in the faith obeys the Guru; and he who rejects one rejects the Guru.

'All that the Guru says should be accepted as true. He who follows the Guru's teachings shall find rich fulfilment, whereas he who does not accept them will flounder helplessly.⁵⁵⁴

'During the last watch of the night a Sikh should arise, bathe, and after cleaning his teeth he should read both the Jap [$j\bar{i}$] of Guru Nanak] and the $J\bar{a}p$ [of Guru Gobind Singh]. He who is unable to read should recite [from memory] two stanzas from both $Japj\bar{i}$ and $J\bar{a}p$. When dawn breaks he should proceed to wherever a religious assembly ($d\bar{i}v\bar{a}n$) is being held. There he should prostrate himself and [taking his place in the assembly] listen to [the singing of] the divine Word. He should then go about his daily business. At midday he should wash his feet and hands, and having done so he should read both $Japj\bar{i}$ and $J\bar{a}p$ [again]. An hour before the close of day⁵⁵⁵ he should read the Sodar Rahir $\bar{a}s$. Hold the divine Word in loving remembrance throughout the entire twenty-hours of the day. Whoever observes this Rahit shall obtain bliss both in this life and in the hereafter.

On the occasion of a *śrāddh* ceremony prepare the tastiest of food⁵⁵⁷ and having done so summon [the local members of] the Khalsa. Read the *Anand*, recite Ardas, and feed the Sikhs [who have assembled at your invitation]. He who does this shall have his offering accepted

and the benefit will have been communicated to his forbears.

Idol worship, [Brahmanical] ritual, wearing the dhoti, and leaving the head bare are duties which were required during past yugas, [not during the present]. During the Kaliyuga the proper duty to observe is that which binds disciple to Guru. Each yuga has its own Veda. For the Kaliyuga it is the Atharva Veda. According to the Atharva Veda he who [lives in] the Kaliyuga and obeys the word of the Guru shall find rich fulfilment, whereas he who does not obey it will sink [in the Ocean of Existence].

'Freedom [from the cycle of death and rebirth] is not obtained by reading the Shastras, the Vedas, or the Puranas. The ladder which leads to freedom is the divine Name (nām). He who reads, hears and repeats the divine Name shall be freed [from the transmigratory round].'

Without the Guru there can be no release though one search the Vedas and the Puranas. 'Hear, O

Khalsa,' Gobind Singh declares, 'In the Kaliyuga the divine Name is supreme.'558

Anyone who believes in the Brahmans consigns his family to hell. Abandon the Guru to serve Brahman masters⁵⁵⁹ and you shall find no resting-place in the hereafter. The Guru has truly said, 'He who reverences Brahman teachers or worships at cenotaphs and cremation grounds shall be separated from me.'

Perform all [approved] ceremonies [punctiliously], for there are many details to be observed if one is a Gurmukh. Accept whatever the Satguru says as the supreme truth. If you do so you

shall find rich fulfilment. He who refuses to believe it shall struggle helplessly.

If the Guru wishes, then evil turns to good and good to evil. As he wishes, so he acts. He acts as need dictates and [inexorably the intended result] follows. He who obeys the [Guru's] command shall find the door [to freedom], whereas he who rejects it shall continue to suffer

the torments of rebirth. Glory abundant is [the reward of] obedience.

One day [Guru] Gobind Singh said, 'Trust nothing save the divine Word (śabad), for he who bestows his affections on anything other than the divine Word shall be cast into hell. Read the divine Word, hear the divine Word, earn the merit bestowed by the divine Word.

Apart from the divine Word there is nowhere to go. Without the divine Word one suffers fearsome punishment 560

The $b\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ is the Guru, the Guru the $b\bar{a}n\bar{i}$, and amrit permeates all. When [the Guru] utters $b\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ and the believer responds with faith, then shall it be seen that the Guru bears him to freedom. 561

Guru Gobind Singh has said that Sikhs should follow the path of renunciation while yet remaining householders. A Sikh should never trust a woman, nor should he seek to probe her inner thoughts. Do not cast lecherous eyes on the women⁵⁶² of another man's family, for this is a very serious offence. Do not steal another's property. Do not be mean and miserly.

There is medicine for all illnesses, but none for the slanderer. Because he has told lies the slanderer will be struck down in the Master's court. [When, after death, he must stand and give an account of his deeds] he will receive a [sorry] surprise, and when he cries [for mercy] none will listen. Everyone must die; no one lives forever. [Remember this and] do not turn away from the Guru. No one else has paid the deposit [on your posthumous travel] expenses so how can you cross [the Ocean of Existence]? With the assistance which is available from the Court of God secure the deposit [which is gained by fulfilling the requirements] of dharma. The deposit [secured by discharging the obligations] of dharma is earned by service to those

He who puts the spirit of service into actual practice finds happiness in the present, and [in the hereafter] receives it at the divine Court. Learn how to serve both strangers⁵⁶³ and brothers. Never ask whether one is a Brahman or a Khatri, and accept him whether he be a yogi or a sanyasi. Do not accept them as guests because they wear orange⁵⁶⁴ robes and matted hair. [These are not necessary qualifications.]

Serve a brother in the Sikh faith as you would serve the Guru [himself] and treat him with the reverence [you would show the Guru]. Guru Gobind Singh Sodhi has decreed that the merit earned by feeding a brother in the faith is greater than that earned by feeding someone else. Serve him as generously as your wealth permits. The more you serve a brother in the faith the greater the merit you secure.

Let all proclaim: 'Hail to the victory of the Guru!' Hear me Sikhs, sons and brothers! Accept the word of the Satguru as the truth [which brings release] and you shall encounter no obstacle in the divine Court. He who lodges the Satguru's word in his heart shall suffer no impediment when he appears in the divine Court, nor he who receives the Satguru's greeting [when he makes his appearance therein].

The Guru has declared: 'He who is my Sikh will spurn [Brahmanical] ceremonies, [using] a razor, [reciting] the Gayatri, [making] water offerings, and [other such] hypocritical practices.' A Sikh's affections should be directed to nothing save the divine Word of the Guru. To love anything else means consignment to hell.

SRL colophon

Cry 'Praise to the Guru', brother. This record⁵⁶⁵ is [hereby] concluded with the request that [unintentional] errors and omissions should be pardoned. With the Guru's [gracious] assistance this rahit-nama has been brought to completion.⁵⁶⁶ [All praise to] the divine Name which is truth! With the aid of Sri Akal Purakh this book was copied in the town of Jind [and completed there] on the fourteenth day of the light half of the month of Chet, S.1821 (1765 A.C.).

GNDU colophon

Cry 'Praise to the Guru', brother. This record is [hereby] concluded with the request that [unintentional] errors and omissions should be pardoned. The entire volume was completed in S.1913 (1856-57 A.C.). It is signed by [the scribe], Harinam Singh Khatri.

NOTES TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

ABBREVIATIONS:

TSSS

POTOTIVIA TOTOL	•
AG	Adi Granth.
B40 (Eng)	W. H. McLeod (trans.), The B40 Janam-sākhī. Amritsar, 1980.
BG	Bhai Gurdas, Vārān .
B-n	Kesar Singh Chhibbar, Bansāvalī-nāmā.
ChS	Text of the Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama. Numbers following the
	abbreviation ChS designate sections of the Chaupā Singh
	Rahit-nāmā text.
Darapan	Sahib Singh, Srī Gurū Granth Darapan, 10 vols. Jalandhar,
	1962-64.
DG	Dasam Granth.
ESC	W. H. McLeod, The Evolution of the Sikh Community. Delhi,
	1975; Oxford, 1976.
EST	W. H. McLeod, Early Sikh Tradition: a study of the janam-sākhīs.
	Oxford, 1980.
GM	Kahn Singh Nabha, Gurumat Māratand, 2 vols. Amritsar, 1962.
GNDU	Guru Nanak Dev University library manuscript no.1018.
GNSR	W. H. McLeod, Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion. Oxford, 1968.
GPBS	Guramat Prakāś Bhāg Sanskār. 8th ed. Amritsar, 1952.
KhC	Sikh History Research Department of Khalsa College, Amritsar,
	manuscript no. SHR 227.
M	Mahalā, the Adi Granth code-word meaning 'Guru'. M1 designates
	Guru Nanak, M2 designates Guru Angad, etc.
Macauliffe	M. A. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, 6 vols. Oxford, 1909.
MK	Kahn Singh Nabha, Guruśabad Ratanākar Mahān Koś (commonly
	known as Mahān Koś). 2nd ed. revised with Addendum. Patiala,
	1960.
PrS	Randhir Singh (ed.), Prem Sumārag Granth. Jalandhar, 1965.
PSP	Piara Singh Padam (ed.), Rahit-name. Patiala, 1974.
Sabadarath	Sabadārath Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī. Text and commentary on the
an.	Adi Granth, n.p. 1936-41.
SPr	Santokh Singh, Gur Pratāp Suray (the Sūraj Prakās). Page numbers
	refer to Vir Singh's edition Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, Amritsar,
CDI	1927-35.
SRL	Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, manuscript no. 6124.
SRM	Sikh Rahit Maryādā (Punjabi version). Published by the Shiromani
かぐぐぐ	Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, various editions.

1. sākh granth sāhib jī, 'the testimony of the Granth Sahib'. The rahit-nama attributed to Chaupa Singh is notable for its extensive use of scriptural quotations, most of them drawn from the Adi Granth but also some from the Dasam Granth. These quotations are inserted either as a means of buttressing rahit injunctions or to confer authenticity on narrative passages. The formula sākh granth sāhib jī is almost always used to introduce Adi Granth quotations from the works of the first five Gurus whenever such extracts are attached to rahit prescriptions. It is also prefixed to some of the quotations included in the narrative portions of the text. For an Adi Granth quotation from poets other than the Gurus (notably Kabir and Farid) the same formula may be used. In such instances, however, the variant form sant sākh or sant vāk is more common. Quotations from the Dasam Granth always identify their source by a reference to the tenth Guru or to a

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W. H. McLeod, Textual Sources for the Study of

verse-form which recognisably belongs to the Dasam Granth (180). A variety of formulae are used including pātasāhī 10, sākh pātasāhī 10, and sākh granth sāhib jī pātasāhī 10. (As the last of these examples indicates, the term 'Granth Sahib' is applied to the Dasam Granth as well as to the Adi Granth.) A solitary quotation from the works of Bhai Gurdas is introduced with the words sākh bhāī guradās (646). In most instances these formulae appear in the English translation as introductory clauses preceding their quotations (e.g. 'As the Granth Sahib says'). Occasionally they follow it as a non-specific attribution. Specific locations are given in footnotes. These are never indicated in the text. A few Adi Granth quotations also appear in the brief rahit-nama attributed to Nand Lal. None of these quotations is preceded by an introductory formula.

2. M5, Gaurī Bāvan Akharī 44, AG p. 259. The line can be translated in other ways. If the line which follows it is added a more likely translation would be:

By living one's life in accordance with the infinite Word of the Guru one progressively eliminates the disease [of separation from God]. In Guru Arjan's usage the word *rahit* cannot have borne the eighteenth-century meaning which is assumed by the author of the rahit-nama.

- 3. M1, Bilāval Ast 1 (3), AG p. 831. A better translation would be:

 He who has truth in his man lives [a life which reflects] that truth.

 For the meaning of man see GNSR, pp. 178-181 and note 181 below.
- 4. Kabir, Gaurī 18 (4), AG p. 327.
- 5. gurū kā sikh, a Sikh of the Guru.
- 6. Bhika, Saväie mahale tije ke 20, AG pp. 1395-96.
- 7. guramukh: 'one whose face is turned to the Guru', a faithful follower of the Guru. Like Gursikh the word has entered standard English usage in the Punjab and both terms are accordingly used in the translation without italics. The opposite of guramukh is manamukh: 'one whose face is turned to [his own] man', a self-willed person.
- 8. kes-dhārī athavā sahaj-dhārī: whether he be a Sikh of the Khalsa who keeps his beard and hair (kes) uncut, or whether he be a devotee of the Guru who does not observe the rahit in its full rigour and cuts his hair. The term sahaj-dhārī is normally translated 'slow-adopter', i.e. one who is moving towards a full acceptance of the Khalsa discipline but who has not yet proceeded further than an acceptance of Nanak's teachings concerning salvation. A more likely etymology relates the compound to Guru Nanak's characteristic use of the word sahaj to designate the ineffable bliss which ultimately results from the disciplined practice of nām simaran. If this theory is correct the term sahaj-dhārī should be construed, in its broad sense, to mean one who accepts the nām simaran teachings of Nanak', without any reference to the adoption of the Khalsa discipline. See EST, p. 35n. For the author of the rahit-nama, however, it has a more particular meaning. It is characteristically used in contradistinction to kes-dhārī and as such signifies its opposite. Whereas kes-dhārī means 'one who retains his kes' (with the clear implication that he does so in obedience to the strict Khalsa rahit), sahaj-dhārī designates one who cuts his hair and who thus falls short of the Khalsa ideal. Such a person is evidently regarded as one who hovers on the Panth's boundaries. At certain points in the rahit-nama (such as this reference in 1) he seems clearly to be included within its bounds. Elsewhere, however, the firm insistence on maintenance of the kes logically requires his exclusion. The same ambivalence continues to the present day.
- 9. pañj isanānā[n]: the 'five ablutions', washing of hands, feet and mouth. GM pp. 361, 690.

- 10. bānī (vānī): sound; speech; precept. In Sikh usage bānī (or gurabānī) designates the utterances of the Gurus and Bhagats recorded in the sacred scriptures (the Adi Granth and Dasam Granth).
- 11. hath jor kai: 'bringing the hands together', joining one's palms in the traditional gesture of reverence or respect. The term is commonly (and inaccurately) translated as 'with folded hands'.
- 12. The word aradās is the Punjabi form of the Persian 'arz-dāsht, 'a written petition'. The Punjabi version has developed two distinctive meanings. Used in its ordinary, general sense it means a deferential request. In Sikh tradition the verb aradās karanā is commonly used to express the act of laying a petition before the Guru, and the Gurus themselves used it as a form of address to Akal Purakh. GM, pp. 36-37. At some stage during the eighteenth century, however, aradās assumed a more specific meaning in Sikh usage. There developed the convention of prefacing requests for divine assistance with the invocation to Chandī dī Vār (DG p.119), an introduction which calls to mind the grace and virtues of the first nine Gurus (TSSS, p. 103). To this was added a similar reference to the tenth Guru and the supplemented invocation came to be known as Ardas in a particular sense.

In its earlier form Ardas seems to have comprised only the supplemented Chandī dī Vār invocation. See Attar Singh of Bhadaur, The Rayhit Nama of Pralad Rai &c. (Lahore, 1876), Nand Lal section, p. 5n. This portion remains mandatory in the modern version and together with the two concluding lines it is the only portion of Ardas which is unalterable. In the modern Ardas, however, a lengthy sequel follows the standard invocation. There exists a generally agreed standard text for this sequel, most of it comprising a review of the past trials and triumphs of the Panth (SRM, pp. 11-13). Although personal intercessions are commonly introduced towards the end of the prayer the agreed text is normally followed for all that precedes and follows.

The two meanings of the word aradās are quite clear and normally it is possible to distinguish whether the general or the particular sense is intended. In the ChS text, however, it is not always possible to determine the word's intended sense with complete certainty. There can be no doubt that most of its few appearances are to be read as references to the offering of prayer. What is not clear is whether or not such prayer should follow a standard format. The contexts in which the word appears do, however, favour the possibility of formal prayer and it has therefore been included in the English translation as 'Ardas', not as 'prayer' or 'petition'. The word appears in sections 1, 108, and thrice in the Nand Lal section. For examples of the general usage see 49, 573, 604, 609.

During the time of Ranjit Singh (perhaps earlier) the term temporarily acquired a third meaning. For Ranjit Singh's administration aradās could mean a monetary contribution to the ruler (Indu Banga, The Agrarian System of the Sikhs, New Delhi, 1978, p.159n.).

- 13. The dharamasālā, cult centre of the early Panth, was a building or room used for worship, congregational assembly, discourse (kathā), the singing of devotional songs (kīratan), or any other religious purpose (B40 (Eng), p. 82n). The term evidently held its own throughout the period of the Gurus, but during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it gradually gave way to guraduārā (anglicised as 'gurdwara'). The custodian of a dharamsala was called a dharamsalia. See also note 135.
- 14. sādh sangat: 'an assembly of the pious'.
- 15. mathā tekaṇā: 'to place the forehead [on the ground]', to prostrate oneself by going down on hands and knees, and from that position touching the ground with one's forehead.

- 16. dharam kī krit kare, jehī vähagurū devai : 'whatever dharma occupation may be conferred by the Guru (vāhagurū)'. This injunction incorporates the conventional understanding of dharma (Pbi. dharam) as a specific occupation and range of duties associated with n particular caste. One's caste is divinely conferred, and with it the occupation which one should pursue. For a discussion of the term vāhagurū see the Introduction, pp.47-48.
- 17. M1, Sārang kī vār 22:1, AG p. 1245.
- 18. rahurās sodar (usually sodar rahirās or simply rahirās). The general term rahirās, literally 'straight path', now bears the meaning 'supplicatory prayer'. The specific title sodar designates the shabad by Guru Nanak in Asa raga which begins with the words so daru. Sodar rahirās is the group of shabads which together constitute the evening liturgy, so called because the group begins with Nanak's Asa shabad. The liturgy is daily sung by devout Sikhs as night falls.

A comparison of this rahit-nama reference with modern practice indicates that the modern form of the liturgy retains at least two basic features of its eighteenth-century precursor. The first is that the selection of shabads begins with the $\overline{A}s\overline{a}$ shabad which gives the liturgy its name. The second is that it has always been sung as an evening service. (The actual hour is specified in the Nand Lal section.) The original content is not clear, however, nor is the pattern of development which intervenes between this reference from the mid-eighteenth century and the fixing of a modern standard form.

In the Adi Granth the shabad Sodar heads a bracket of five shabads which seem plainly to have constituted a liturgical order by the time the scripture was compiled in 1603-04. They appear as a cluster in the introductory portion of the Adi Granth, together with other individual items and similar clusters. The introductory portion of the Adi Granth comprises the following:

i. The Mul Mantra (AG, p.1)

ii. Guru Nanak's Japji (pp.1-8)

iii. The Sodar group of five shabads (pp.8-10) .

iv. The So Purakh group of four shabads (pp.10-12)

v. The Sohilā group of five shabads (pp.12-13)

The fact that the Sodar group appears in this form seems plainly to confirm that it had already emerged as a liturgical order by the beginning of the seventeenth century and there is no reason to doubt that it was, then as now, an evening order.

This, however, leaves some features of Sodar Rahirās still unclear. Some of these emerge from a comparison of the order currently in use with that which was evidently followed a century ago. The current liturgy comprises the following:

Sodar

- i. M1, Āsā 1, AG pp. 8-9, 347-48.
- ii. M1, Āsā 1, AG pp. 9, 348-49
- iii. M1, Āsā 2, AG pp. 9-10, 349
- iv. M4, Gūjarī 1, AG pp. 10, 492
- v. M5, Güjarī 1, AG pp. 10, 495

So Purakh

- M4, $\vec{A} \times \vec{a}$ 2, AG pp. 10-11, 348
- M4, Asa 53, AG pp.11-12, 365
- viii. M1, Asā 29, AG pp. 12, 357
- M5, Āsā 29, AG pp. 12, 378

[Miscellaneous]

Benati Chaupai, DG pp. 1386-88

M10, Savayyā and Doharā, DG p. 254 M3, Rāmakalī Anand, stanzas 1-5 and 40, AG pp. 917, 922

M5, Mundāvanī and shalok, AG p.1429.

- SRM , p. 11

This may be compared with the selection listed by Attar Singh of Bhadaur in The Rayhit Nama of Pralad Rai &c . (Lahore, 1876), p. 4 of the Nand Lal section, note *:

- i. Verses from the Asawar [Āsā di Var]
- ii. Soodrasa [Sodar]
- iii. Chaupai iv. Dhore [Dohare], Bachitr Natak, Akal-ustat or glory to God; and several stanzas from the Ramayana
- v. Anand
- vi. Mandawani by Guru Arjan
- vii. The prayers in the 1st paragraph of the history of Bhagwati [the invocation at the beginning of Chandi di Var, DG p. 119]
- viii. A benediction upon all gurus and temples.

The first issue pointed up by this comparison is the presence of material in the Attar Singh version which is not to be found in the modern order. Items 7 and 8 of the Attar Singh version are obviously the introductory portion of Ardas (see above note 12), and the fact that they should have been recited as a part of Rahirds scarcely constitutes a discrepancy. The same cannot be said for the Rāmāyana stanzas, but they can safely be treated as a latter-day excrescence. The principal problem concerns the Asā dī Vār extract. Although this is omitted from the SRM list it is included in Vir Singh's text of Rahiras where it is identified as shalok 1 of pauri 12 (AG p. 469). Vir Šingh (ed.), Pañj granthī saṭīk (Amritsar, 1966), pp. 73-75. According to Vir Singh its inclusion derives from 'early practice (puratan mariyada). Ibid., p.73n. This leaves its actual introduction clear while indicating the possibility of growth since the original framing of the Rahirās order.

The same uncertainty must attach to the So Purakh and miscellaneous sections, particularly to the latter. Although neither the ChS reference nor Attar Singh's list mention the inclusion of the So Purakh shabads it seems likely that they were a part of the liturgy from its inception. Their inclusion in the introductory portion of the Adi Granth testifies to a liturgical intention; and their placement between the Sodar early-evening order and the Sohila late-evening order supports the traditional view that they are in fact a part of the former. There is, moreover, no reference in the janam-sakhi or rahit-nama literature which suggests a separate usage. The fact that the So Purakh group is distinguished in the Adi Granth text from the Sodar sequence may conceivably indicate that a separate usage was envisaged by Guru Arjan when he compiled the scripture. If so, there is no indication of what this intention might have been, nor of actual fulfilment of any such intention.

- 19. kathā kīratan gobind charachā kare suņe. The word kathā means 'exposition' or 'homily'. Normally it will consist of a hermeneutical discourse on some passage from scripture, but it may also include the relating of a story (with appropriate commentary) from the janam-sakhis or traditional Sikh history. In a general sense kiratan means the singing of religious songs. Sikh usage explicitly limits it to the singing of gurabanī (compositions by the Gurus or other works recorded in the Adi Granth).
- 20. Farid, Śalok 112, AG p.1384.
- 21. bīrī kare. The word bīrī, which normally means a preparation of betel leaf and areca nut (otherwise known as pan), here means a dental-stick. Dictionary of the Punjabi

Language (Lodiana, 1854), p.342.

- 22. PSP, p. 71, specifies only thandhe pant (cold water). For a description of current Punjabi attitudes concerning pollution derived from sexual functions see Paul Hershman, 'Virgin and Mother', in Ioan Lewis (ed.), Symbols and Sentiments: cross-cultural studies in symbolism (London, 1977), pp.269-92, especially pp.271-73.
- 23, M2, Vār Mājh 18:1, AG p. 146.
- 24. pañjī melī. The usual form is pañj mel. This is the first of two lists of reprobates given in ChS. The second appears in section 31.

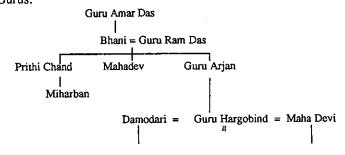
25. The first three of the panj mel (the five reprobate groups) as listed by ChS comprise the followers of three unsuccessful contenders for the title of Guru, all of them members of the Sodhi family and close relatives of the legitimate incumbents.

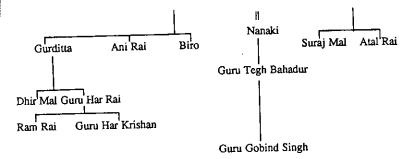
i. The Minas were the followers of Prithi Chand and, in turn, of his son and successor Miharban. Prithi Chand, the eldest of the three sons of Guru Ram Das (1574-81), was passed over by his father in favour of the youngest son, Arjan (1581-1606). Those who gave their allegiance to Prithi Chand and his successors were stigmatized Minas, or unscrupulous rogues, by the adherents of Guru Arjan's line. See section 248 and EST, p.33.

ii. Ram Rai (1646-1687) was the elder of Guru Har Rai's two sons. While still a child he was despatched to Delhi, evidently to act as a surety on his father's behalf. According to Sikh tradition he forfeited the right to succeed his father as eighth Guru by the answer which he gave in response to a question from the Emperor Aurangzeb. He was (so tradition relates) to explain Guru Nanak's apparently insulting reference to the making of earthenware pots from the dust of deceased Muslims (mini musalaman). Ram Rai assured the emperor that the correct reading was actually mitti beiman, the dust of the faithless deceased'. Although it seems unlikely that this incident (if in fact it occurred) could alone account for the disinheriting of Ram Rai it may nevertheless be accurate to the extent that it crystallizes in a single anecdote a general truth concerning the relationship between Ram Rai and the Mughal emperor. Whatever the reason, Ram Rai was certainly deprived of the legitimate succession. Granted a jagir in the Dun valley by Aurangzeb he withdrew there and established the derā which was to develop into the city of Dehra Dun. His followers came to be known as Ram Raias. MK, pp.775-76.

iii. Dhir Mal (b.1627) was the elder son of Baba Gurditta. The fact that his father had been the eldest son of Guru Hargobind would have provided him with a right to the succession had a tradition of primogeniture been established. The office of Guru had indeed become hereditary in the line of male descent from Guru Ram Das, but not necessarily through the eldest son. Dhir Mal's younger brother, Har Rai, was chosen by his grandfather as the seventh Guru, leaving Dhir Mal as an unsuccessful and disaffected claimant. According to tradition Dhir Mal held the original manuscript copy of Guru Arjan's Adi Granth and ChS briefly records the story concerning Guru Gobind Singh's unsuccessful attempt to obtain it from his grandson (176). The followers of Dhir Mal were known as Dhirmalias.

MK, pp.198-99, 775, indicates the following pattern of descent from the third and fourth Gurus:





The two remaining groups to be reprobated by the Guru's loyal Sikhs are, according to ChS:

iv. The Masands (mel masand).

v. Those who acknowledge the authority of the Masands (mel masandle).

The word masand is evidently a corrupted version of the Arabic masnad, 'throne' or 'one who sits on a throne' (MK, p. 698). In early Sikh usage it was used as a title to designate the surrogates appointed by the Gurus to exercise delegated authority within specific geographical areas. The duties of a masand certainly included the collecting of dasavandh (the 'tenth' or votive offering which Sikhs were expected to render to the Guru) and presumably extended to a more general leading and shepherding of a local sangat or group of sangats. The origin of the office is obscure, traced by some to the time of the third Guru (Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, vol. 1, p. 53) and by others to that of the fourth Guru (MK, p.698; Macauliffe ii.271). Their subsequent history is also obscure. It is, however, evident that they acquired an increasing independence during the course of the seventeenth century and that this growing sense of self-importance eventually amounted to a dangerous disloyalty. Sikh traditions are unanimous in ascribing this view to Guru Gobind Singh.

It appears that it was the insolent disobedience of the masands which brought the word khālsā into prominence. The 'Khalsa' or 'royal domain' comprised those Sikhs who, by reason of geographical proximity, owed their allegiance directly to the Guru without need of a masand as intermediary. Having decided that the masands were no longer trustworthy Guru Gobind Singh evidently instructed his Sikhs to renounce their intermediate allegiance to disloyal masands and transfer it (together with their dasavandh) to the Khalsa. Authority previously exercised by individual masands was thereafter to be corporately assumed by sangats. J. S. Grewal, From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh (Amritsar, 1972), pp.60-61. J.S. Grewal and S. S. Bal, Guru Gobind Singh (Chandigarh, 1967), pp.113-115, 128-29. For other ChS references to the masands and their iniquities see 35, 184-88, 590. For an explicit definition of masandia (mel masandië), see PrS, p.91.

Although the identity of the panj mel varies there appears to be universal agreement that the masands are to be numbered amongst them. The PSP text follows this rule and also agrees with ChS (and with dominant tradition) in naming the Minas and the Ram Raias. The Dhirmalias and Masandias are, however, omitted. According to PSP, p.71, the pañj mel comprised: i. the Minas; ii. the Ram Raias; iii. those who kill female infants (kurī-mār); iv. those who observe the head-shaving ritual (bhadanī); v. the Masands. Sainapati, writing in 1741, refers to the execrated groups as simply 'the five', but implies that they are to be distinguished from the heinous siragum or 'hair-cutters' by mentioning the latter in the preceding line (Srī Gur Sobhā, 5:19:135). The two ChS lists evidently follow soon after this early non-specific reference, well in advance of the versions which are provided towards the middle of the nineteenth century by Ratan Singh Bhangu and Santokh Singh. According to Ratan Singh the five comprised Minas, Masands, those who kill female infants (kurī-mār), Ram Raias, and narī-mār or users of the hookah, i.e. smokers (Prāchīn Panth Prakās, Amritsar, 1962, p.44). Santokh Singh agrees with this list apart from the narī-mār who are displaced by the Dhirmalias (SPr, rut 3, ansū 35; Vir Singh edition, pp.50-57).

The question of which groups constituted the panj mel was, like all important features of the Rahit, scrutinised during the period of the Singh Sabha movement. The result appears in Guramat Prakās Bhāg Sanskār, the rahit-nama issued by the Chief Khalsa Diwan in 1915. In this compendium the panj mel are listed as: i. the Minas; ii. the Masands; iii. the Dhirmalias; iv. those who are siragum; v. the Ram Raias. GPBS, pp. 26-27. Kahn Singh Nahba predictably agrees with this list and defines a siragum as one who having accepted amrit [viz. one who has been initiated as a member of the Khalsa] subsequently cuts his hair (GM, p.350). To these five groups the Singh Sabha reformers added three more. Loyal members of the Khalsa were also forbidden to fraternise with hookah-users (narī mār), those who kill female infants (kurī-mār), and any who slander the Gurus (gur-nindak). GPBS, p.27.

Sikh Rahit Maryādā, the rahit-nama issued by the S.G.P.C. in 1950, makes no reference to the pañj mel. It does, however, include in its initiation rubric a list of 'transgressors' (tanakhāhīe). The first item in a list of seven tanakhāhīe reads:

They who associate with Minas, Masands, Dhirmalias, Ram Raias and other such enemies of the Panth are transgressors, as are they who associate with smokers, killers of female infants, and [initiated Sikhs] who cut their hair (siragum).

- SRM, p.37

- 26. Depraved leaders produce depraved disciples.
- 27. M3, Vār Bihāgare 16:1, AG p. 554. The writer is not necessarily correct in treating this quotation as a proof text which denounces the use of intoxicating liquor. It appears more likely that Guru Amar Das is referring to wine in a metaphorical sense. He writes of jhūthā madu, the 'wine of falsehood' which clouds a man's understanding and thus blinds him to the truth of God.
- 28. *PSP*, pp. 71-72. These three injunctions, which do not appear in the *GNDU/SRL* text, have evidently been interpolated as they disrupt the numbering sequence of these texts.
- 29. 'True is the divine Name! Praise to the Guru!'
- 30. Kabir, Gond, 11, AG p. 873.
- 31. The English word 'touch' has been deliberately chosen because it bears a dual connotation and because the purport of the injunction seems to imply both meanings. The term used in the SRL text (judh nā kare) could be translated as 'harm' and as such would come closer to the literal meaning. As Piara Singh Padam indicates, however, the context of this particular injunction seems clearly to be warfare conducted against Muslims with the implied opportunity to seize and violate women (PSP, Introduction p.28). The injury done to women in such circumstances would be a specifically sexual harm and the translation here adopted is intended to imply both physical assault and sexual contact. Kahn Singh confirms this interpretation. The term turakaṇī nāl yudh is, he states, a Khalsa idiom meaning musalamānī bhogaṇī, 'sexual intercourse with a Muslim woman' (GM, p. 358).

The variant reading sang given in the GNDU and PSP texts sustains the sexual connotation while eliminating the narrow warfare context (GNDU, f. 6b; PSP p.72). According to this variant reading all association with Muslim women is proscribed. Piara Singh Padam, citing Santokh Singh's Sūraj Prakās as support, suggests that the sense of the injunction should derive from a tradition concerning Guru Gobind Singh. Confronted by a claim that Muslim women should be seized as a retaliatory measure, the Guru is said to have responded with a firm denial (ibid.). The passage from Sūraj Prakās which provides the basis for this interpretation (SPr, rut 6, ansū 20:18-19, Vir Singh edition, p.5815) is actually a part of Santokh Singh's version of the Sau Sākhīān. Attar Singh's translation of the Sau Sākhīān exclusively declares with reference to this incident that

sexual contact with Muslim women is to be avoided because it is polluting. (Attar Singh, Sakhee Book, Benares, 1873, sakhee 32, pp.66-67.) In other words, the intention of the proscription is not primarily to afford protection to defenceless Muslim women, although this must necessarily be a result. The purpose of the prohibition is that the male Sikh should be protected against pollution.

Kahn Singh Nabha offers another explanation for the injunction. At the time it was enunciated, he suggests, most prostitutes were Muslim women, with the result that the terms musalli (a Muslim woman of the sweeper caste) and turakani (any Muslim woman) were used synonymously to mean 'courtesan'. This indicates, he claims, that the prohibition is actually directed against sexual intercourse with any woman other than one's wife and may thus be summarised as a ban on adultery. (GM, p.546n. Guramat Sudhākar, p. 307n. See also GPBS, p.26.) The argument is, however, strained and the anti-Muslim context of the injunction makes it clear that the prohibition is specifically directed against sexual intercourse with Muslim women whatever their status or occupation. It is clearly a part of the wider condemnation of polluting contact with all Muslims.

- 32. Pakhayān Charitra 405:396, DG p. 1387. The word malechh normally designates a Muslim in traditional Sikh terminology. The import of the quotation in this context is plainly an exhortation to destroy Muslims. The quotation is taken from the portion of Pakhayan Charitra known as Benatī Chaupāī. See TSSS, pp. 99-100. For the pre-Muslim understanding of malechh see Romila Thapar, 'The image of the early barbarian in early India' in Comparative Studies in Society and History 13 (1971), pp.408-436.
- 33. par-istrīā[n] dā sang na kare. This could mean 'nor should he consort with another's women', without necessarily implying sexual contact and both the GNDU and PSP copyists affirm this non-sexual sense by using the words par-istrīān dī sangati nā baithe (GNDU, f. 7a; PSP, p. 72). Normally, however, istrī dā sang karanā means 'sexual intercourse with a woman' as the PSP copyist makes clear on two earlier occasions (PSP, pp. 71, 72).
- 34. PSP: 'Have nothing to do with those who smoke (naṛī-mār) or slay female babies.' The naṛī is the stem of the hookah. The death of a female baby could be effected by pressing her face into the placenta so that she suffocated in her mother's blood. Ved Mehta, Daddyji (London, 1972), p. 12.
- 35. M3, Asa Patti 6, AG p.435.
- 36. PSP: naṛī-mārān, smokers.
- 37. In its strict sense *monā* designates a male who has undergone ritual shaving of the head. Cf. *bhadaṇa* (80 and note 108). Modern usage applies the word to any Sikh who cuts his hair.
- 38. hath jorae. Maya Singh, The Panjabi Dictionary (Lahore, 1895), p. 437.
- 39. charanā[n] dī pāhul. The relationship between a guru and his disciple has commonly been symbolised by a ritual use of water, sanctified by contact with the guru's foot (charan pl.charanān). Two terms which are used to denote this custom are charanān dā jal and charan-āmrit. Cf. section 60. In practice the sanctifying process is effected by merely touching the water with a toe. It does not require total immersion of the foot, much less the kind of detergent operation implied by the common translation 'foot-wash'. Water thus sanctified by the master is then drunk by the disciple as a token of his submission. The term charan dī pāhul indicates that the administering of the drink is to be understood as an initiation ritual. The instructions which follow in section 16 specify that

the water which is to be used for this purpose should be sanctified not by contact with the foot of a living Guru but by contact with a lectern supporting the scriptural Guru. Elsewhere, however, a ritual is prescribed for newly-born babies which requires that water mixed with raw sugar should be touched by the feet of five Sikhs before it is given

as an initiatory drink. See sections 60 and 88.

The actual status of the charan di pāhul initiation rite as prescribed in ChS is not entirely clear. What it does not denote is initiation into the Khalsa. This is effected only by khande di pahul, the administering of water which has been stirred with a khanda (two-edged sword). See sections 61, 90, 178-82. The charan di pāhul rite was evidently understood to signify a form of preliminary admission to the Panth, serving only as a threshold to full-fledged membership of the Khalsa. As such it seems plainly to be a relic of earlier pre-Khalsa practice, doomed to ultimate extinction as the khanda rite progressively assumed exclusive authority.

Kahn Singh declares the charan rite to be the pre-Khalsa form of panthic initiation automatically abolished by the institution of khande di pahul (GM, p.78). This evidently represents a simplified interpretation, telescoping into a single event a process which

actually extended over many decades.

40. For Guru Nanak's Japjī and Guru Amar Das' Anand see notes 18, 359. Modern usage normally appends the honorific Sāhib to each title, thus indicating the particular reverence which the two works are traditionally accorded. In each case the five prescribed stanzas were presumably the first five. This would certainly have been the practice in the case of Anand Sāhib. The portion of this composition which is sung as a part of the approved marriage service in use today (Anand kāraj) comprises the first five and the fortieth stanzas (AG pp. 917, 922). As this ChS rubric indicates, the practice of singing or reciting these stanzas as an integral part of the Sikh marriage ceremony has a lengthy pedigree. The convention was, however, widely abandoned during the first half of the nineteenth century, possibly earlier. Restoration of Anand karaj as the only order approved for Sikh marriages was a major concern of the Singh Sabha movement. The Singh Sabha campaign eventually issued in the Anand Marriage Act of 1909.

For the precise order to be followed when celebrating a marriage according to the Anand rite see SRM, pp. 25-28. Abbreviated accounts are to be found in Jogendra Singh, Sikh Ceremonies (Bombay, 1941), pp. 10-19; and Surinder Singh Johar, Handbook on Sikhism (Delhi, 1977), pp. 146-47. For a discussion of the claim that the Anand rite derives from a precedent set by the Nirankari sect from 1855 onwards see John C.B. Webster, The Nirankari Sikhs (Delhi, 1979), pp. 16-18. See also TSSS, pp. 81-82,

117-20.

41. According to PSP, p.73, the initiates should be given the sweetened water to drink.

- 42. M2, Vār Mājh 22:2, AG p. 148. The line is an obscure one. Other translations are possible.
- 43. The Kes-dhari Sikh should wash his hair only with water which has been taken straight from a well. It should not be filtered through a cloth. The PSP version reads: 'A Gursikh should never pour on his hair or beard water from a barber's bowl.' PSP, p.73.
- 44. jagat $d\bar{a}$ gur \bar{u} : 'Guru of the World', a highly exalted title which one might expect for Guru Nanak but scarcely for any religious preceptor of the post-Guru period regardless of how distinguished he might be. It presumably refers to the kind of teacher who today would be known as a sant.
- 45. sikhā[n] pāso[n] hath jurāe: '[He should go] to the Sikhs and have them join their palms.' The reference is to the reverent joining of palms in supplication to the Guru. In this context it invokes the custom whereby the members of a sangat stand with palms joined while a particular individual makes a personal petition.

- 46. sevā. The concept of sevā is closely associated with the dharamsala or gurdwara. Sevā may be rendered in money, in the giving of appropriate articles or commodities (such as food for the langar), or in labour. The latter variety of sevā might consist of reading the sacred scriptures, waving a fan, serving food in the langar, washing utensils or cleaning the premises.
- 47. M4, Gauṛī Guāreri 41 (1), AG p. 164.
- 48. M1, Asā Asī 15:(4), AG p. 419. The quotation has been mistakenly attributed to a Sant (i.e. Bhagat).
- 49. M3, Surplus Shaloks 1, AG p. 1413.
- 50. M1, Surplus Shaloks 17, AG p. 1411.
- 51. M1, Vār Āsā 16:2, AG p. 471
- 52. turak.
- 53. jogī. This probably refers to yogis of the Nath tradition, prominently represented by the janam-sakhis as powerful rivals of Baba Nanak. They are also known as Kanphat yogis. EST, pp.66-70; B40 (Eng), pp.91ff., 132ff., 193, 208ff.
- 54. Shamsher Singh Ashok construes pagalatha to mean 'he from whom the turban [of self-respect] has been removed, viz. a disreputable person'. Gurū khālse de rahit-nāme (cyclostyled document, Amritsar, 1979), p.4n.
- 55. sirakuthā. A Pothohari term which designates a person who for religious reasons shaves a portion of the scalp leaving the remainder intact. It is, however, possible that it refers to a sect of Jains who plucked their hair out by the root and were known as sirakuthā. MK, p.149. Cf. AG p.150. It is also possible that it refers to the shaving of the head in a more general sense and, as such, is intended to designate all sanyasis who adopt the practice. In conjunction with the two terms which precede it and the three which follow it sirakutha would thus become a general condemnation of all who adopt an ascetic way of life.
- 56. liţīān. Presumably from laţā, 'having matted hair'.
- 57. dhūṛīān, from dhūṛ or (dhūl), 'dust'.
- 58. Prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Punjab a topi (cap, hat or helmet) normally distinguished the wearer as a Muslim. A topi-vālā was specifically a Mughal, particularly a Mughal soldier (cf. 384-85). The word used in section 31 is topian. As one of a list of spurious teachers it can hardly designate a Mughal soldier and it is unlikely to mean simply 'Muslim' as this category is evidently covered by the first in the list (turak). 'Muslim faqir' is perhaps the strongest possibility, one which receives some support from janam-sakhi usage. When the janam-sakhis wish to represent Baba Nanak as an ascetic they sometimes include a top or top in his inventory of garments (cf. B40 (Eng), pp.109, 184) and illustrations from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries commonly depict him wearing head-coverings which are plainly intended to be top or topt. The adoption of the Khalsa ban on hair-cutting ensured that for Singhs of the Khalsa the only possible head-covering would be a turban.
- 59. gaddīān, 'those who sit on gaddis'. The term gaddī, 'throne' or 'seat of authority', designates the status or office of any who exercise superior jurisdiction, whether worldly or spiritual. It could, for example, refer to the office held by the mahant of a math or to

- the position of the religious leader who today would be called a sant. Within the Khalsa only the Guru can occupy a gaddi and all who lay claims to one ought therefore to be spurned. It is possible that this particular reference is intended to reinforce the condemnation of masands (see note 25). It is also possible that gaddīān may be a cognate form of gadāī, 'begging', and that it should thus be translated as 'sadhus who beg'. In place of gaddīān the PSP text has brāhaman (PSP, p.74).
- 60. The place where the $puj\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ discharges his responsibilities is not specified, nor is it indicated for the $adhak\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ who is briefly mentioned in section 33. It seems clear, however, that both terms must be intended to designate the functionary who is charged with the worship and maintenance of a dharamsala or gurdwara (the person who today would be called a granthi). A third term $(dharamas\bar{a}li\bar{a})$ is introduced in section 46 as a synonym for $adhak\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, and in sections 69-72 this third option is accorded an emphasis which suggests that of the three possibilities 'dharamsalia' is the title preferred by the ChS compiler. In a strict sense $puj\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ is inappropriate as it implies the notion of a Brahman officiant performing the idol-worshipping rituals of a Hindu temple. Such a notion would surely be anathema to a devout Sikh. It is obviously used in a loose sense to designate a dharamsala custodian (much as the English word 'priest' is often used to designate religious functionaries who expressly disclaim sacerdotal functions). This should not suggest, however, that the word $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ (worship) lacks specific meaning for the ChS compiler. In section 41 he insistently enjoins $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ of the sword; and in section 109 the Sikh returning from travel is urged to offer thanksgiving $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ at his dharamsala.
- 61. He should show his respect for their sacred forbears by performing all services without normal perquisites or reward. The obvious beneficiaries would be members of the Bedi got who trace their descent from Guru Nanak, and members of the Sodhi got descended from Guru Ram Das or any of the subsequent Gurus who produced lineages. It could also refer to Trehan Khatris claiming descent from Guru Angad or to Bhalla Khatris tracing their ancestry to Guru Amar Das. See also 107.
- 62. M5, Var Gauri 39:2, AG p.315.
- 63. Kabir, Sorath 9, AG p.656.
- 64. bhāī, 'Brother', a simple title of great reverence which traditionally has been conferred on Sikhs of acknowledged piety and learning. Amongst those who have received the title are Bhai Gurdas, Bhai Nand Lal, and Bhai Mani Singh. The title continues to be used today with its strong sense of respect still intact, two twentieth century examples being Bhai Vir Singh and Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. A secondary usage has, however, developed in modern times whereby ragis (professional singers of kirtan) are commonly known by the same title. When applied to ragis it loses much of its traditional veneration and may even be used in a mildly pejorative sense.
- 65. mahant, 'superior', designates the head of a religious establishment such as a Nath derā or an Udasi akhāṛā. Its reputation has, for modern Sikhs, been tarnished beyond redemption, for it was the title applied to the hereditary proprietors of gurdwaras who became such a scandal to the Sikh community during the early years of the twentieth century. From this ChS reference it appears (from its association with the indubitably respectable 'Bhai') that 'Mahant' may have been an acceptable title within the Panth. In both instances, however, they were titles which could only be conferred, never assumed.
- 66. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 12(3), AG p.278.
- 67. M1, $V\bar{a}r\,\bar{A}s\bar{a}$ 17:1, AG p.472. In the AG context the fence (dalāl) is normally identified as the Brahman who acts as a go-between in conducting a $sr\bar{a}dh$ ceremony. Sabadārath, p.472, n.15. Darapan, III.674.

- 68. M5, Dhanāsarī 23(3), AG p.676.
- 69. M5, Bārah Māhā Mājh 9, AG p.135.
- 70. Namdev, Sarang 3, AG p.1252.
- 71. asthan gurū ke, 'the place [or shrine] of the Guru'.
- 72. sirī sāhib, the sword of a Khalsa Sikh. GM, p.351.
- 73. M1, Vār Āsā 5, AG p.465.
- 74. M1, Vār Mājh 20:2, AG p.147.
- 75. In ChS the word prasād sometimes means 'ordinary food'. Here, however, the reference is evidently to the sacramental food karāh prasād or 'food prepared in a karāh', the karāh being a large shallow iron receptacle used for boiling confectionery and other food. Karah prasad is a sweet preparation comprising equal parts of coarsely refined wheat flour (āṭā), clarified butter (ghī) and sugar, with water added. For the method of preparation see Jogendra Singh, Sikh Ceremonies (Bombay, 1941), pp.95-96. It is distributed in gurdwaras and following such rites as akhand pāṭh, Khalsa baptism, and the Anand wedding ceremony. The actual origins of the practice remain a mystery, except insofar as the giving of prasād has, since time immemorial, been associated with Hindu temple worship. The distinctive connection with an iron utensil suggests that the Sikh karāh variety of prasād probably developed as a Khalsa ritual and should thus be traced no further back than the early eighteenth century. There is, however, a reference in Bhai Gurdas's first vār (BG 1:36) which may indicate that the practice dates from the sixteenth century.
- 76. The phul, viz. whatever remains of finger-bones and toe-bones following cremation. MK, p. 613.
- 77. hari-saru, 'the Water of Hari'. MK, p.198.
- 78. kathā: oral commentary on sacred scripture or the narrating of pious anecdotes. Kīratan: corporate singing of devotional songs. The kathā and kīratan should continue for as many days as the family of the deceased can afford to provide hospitality to the relatives who come to mourn.
- 19. bhog, lit. 'pleasure' (esp. sexual pleasure), sexual intercourse, consummation. In Sikh usage the term also designates the ceremonial concluding of a complete reading of the Guru Granth Sahib. The ChS compiler uses it only in its religious sense, preferring sang and nār-bhet for sexual intercourse. In addition to complete readings of the Adi Granth he also uses it when referring to completed recitations of Japjī Sāhib (25). A complete reading may be performed in one of three ways: i) An akhand pāth, or 'unbroken reading'. This requires a relay of readers who, working in shifts, complete a reading without intermission. The task takes approximately forty-eight hours and like all complete readings concludes with a formal bhog. ii) A sequence of intermittent readings timed to conclude at the end of a pre-determined period. The most common form is the sapatāhik pāth, a complete reading of the Guru Granth Sahib spread over seven days. This style may be adopted for much longer periods. A reading may, for example, be extended over a complete year with the bhog timed to fall on a child's birthday, a spouse's death anniversary, etc. iii) The sādhāran pāth, or 'ordinary reading'. This has no pre-ordained date for its bhog and no required frequency for its instalments.

type. His instructions enjoin the family of the deceased to determine in advance how many days of hospitality they can afford; to divide the Granth Sahib into an equivalent number of sections; and to read one section each day until the reading has been completed. The bhog ceremony should then be held, after which the guests will disperse. The modern bhog ceremony is conducted in the following manner. If guests are to be present they are invited to assemble immediately before the projected time for completion. The actual reading concludes with either the Rāgamālā or (for those who dispute the authenticity of the Rāgamālā) Guru Arjan's Mundāvaņī, the work which immediately precedes it on the last page of the Adi Granth. The Anand Sāhib is then read, Ardas is recited, and the ceremony finally terminates with a distribution of karah prasad to all who are present (SRM, p.20). This, however, is not the procedure prescribed in ChS. According to section 141 a complete reading should conclude with Japjī Sāhib.

- 80. jathā sakat sikhān de hath dhuāe, lit. 'cause as many Sikhs as possible to wash their hands'.
- 81. A Hindu ceremony performed annually on behalf of deceased forbears, the purpose being to assist their passage to Paradise or to whatever destination has been determined by their karma. The rite includes an offering of food to assembled relatives and Brahmans. The ChS compiler notes that if the deceased was a Sikh the distribution to Brahmans should be replaced by a general distribution to the Sikhs who are present. Because of its specifically Hindu nature the Singh Sabha reformers, fortified by oblique criticisms in the scriptures, mounted a successful attack on observance of the custom by Sikhs. (N.G.Barrier, The Sikhs and their Literature, pp.26-27. GM, pp.472, 479. SRM, p.30.) The Nand Lal section suggests, however, that the śrādh must have been generally accepted in the eighteenth century Panth (GNDU, ff.200b, 202b-203a; SRL, ff.99b-100a, 101a). This likelihood is supported by the B40 Janam-sākhī. See B40 (Eng), pp.235ff.
- 82. sarakāro[n], 'from government [funds]'.
- 83. This refers to the practice of vowing to make payment (in cash or kind) of a specified amount, or to perform a promised task or penance, if a particular petition is granted by the Guru. Such petitions might include the birth of a son or the averting of some impending disaster. A famous example from Sikh hagiography is the story of Makhan Shah, the merchant who vowed during a storm at sea to give the Guru five hundred gold mohurs if he should be spared.
- 84. Kabir, Āsā 16, AG p.479.
- 85. M4, Var GaurTM4 15:1, AG p.308.
- 86. M5, Bhairau 34, AG p.1145. The same words are also incorporated within a longer line from Guru Arjan's Asā 41, AG p.381.
- 87. [viśavās]-ghātī: killer [of trust].
- 88. The traditional guratī is a potion prepared from raw sugar and other ingredients which is ritually administered to an infant immediately after its birth (MK, p.318). The initiatory water is to be charan dā jal prepared in accordance with the charan-āmrit ('foot-nectar') ritual (see note 39). For the eighteenth century Khalsa the sanctifying role is to be discharged by pañj piāre (five Sikhs in good standing) and the water administered as a birth ritual.
- 89. khande dī pāhul. See note 39.

- 90. sutak or sūtak: the forty-day period of ritual uncleanness which a woman undergoes after giving birth. This reference, together with the injunction to administer sword-baptism to infants, is omitted by PSP. If the PSP version (p.77) is accepted the translation will read: 'If he is to be brought up a Kes-dhari his hair should be left uncut from birth.' This accords better with other injunctions which appear in sections 88 and 90.
- 91. The intended meaning may perhaps be: 'wash [the child's hair] with curds.' Cf. 92, 335, 391, 482.
- 92. M1, Vār Sārang 20:1, AG p.1245.
- 93. Sikhs owe their allegiance exclusively to the Guru and to the Guru's Panth,
- 94. Possibly a corrupt version of M5, Gond 8(1) and 9(2), AG p.864.
- 95. M1, Āsā 25, AG p.356.
- 96. tambol or tamol, lit. a betel leaf but used to designate gifts of clothing or cash bestowed by relatives and friends at the time of marriage. MK, p.432.
- 97. pagarī, 'turban'. At the pagarī ceremony following a man's death the elder son is invested with a turban and formally charged with the responsibilities incumbent on him as his father's heir and successor.
- 98. M5, Vār Jaitasarī 14, AG p.709.
- 99. The custodian of a dharamsala responsible for arranging and leading its worship (corresponding to the modern granthi). See notes 13, 60.
- 100. grihast. The dharamsalia must be either a life-long celibate or a married man who has separated himself from his family in the interests of his religious vocation.
- 101. vand khāe: one who shares his food with others.
- 102. M5, Gūjarī vār 3, AG p.518.
- 103. M1, Var Bihagare 20:1, AG p.556.
- 104. This injunction seems to suggest that the title of Pir might conceivably be applied to a Sikh. For masand, see note 25.
- 105. M1, Vār Rāmakalī 14:1, AG p.954. The first line of the couplet has been inadvertently omitted:

The Pandavas weep; they have become common labourers.

- 106. gur ke sikh musadī jo sirakār turakā[n] dī vichi hain. musadī (Arabic mutaṣaddī): a clerk, low-ranking accountant or administrative officer. The word has been construed literally because of the subsequent reference to sirakār turakā[n] dī. In 1849, however, J.D.Cunningham reported in his History of the Sikhs that the musadīs constituted a class 'composed of devotees of the Muhammadan religion who have adopted the "Jap" of Nanak as their rule of faith'. He adds: 'The Musaddis are further said to have fixed abodes in the countries westward of the Indies.' (Loc.cit., Delhi, 1955, p.349.)
- 107. GNDU and SRL both have ik trihu binā. The first word should probably be ihu. If ik is correct the sentence could perhaps be translated as 'other than one woman' (trihu can

- mean either 'three' or 'woman'). The sentence might then be construed as the first of four (not three) prohibitions, freely translated as: 'Taking more than one wife.' This has however, unlikely. The PSP reading includes ik (PSP p.78), but the wording of the complete PSP injunction makes it clear that the unforgivable violations of the Rahli number only three.
- 108. bhadhaṇā (bhadaṇā). Strictly the shaving of the head as in the Hindu puberty rite or me preparation for a Hindu funeral. The use of the word in this context suggests, however, that it may have been used by eighteenth century Sikhs to designate any serious violation of the ban on hair-cutting. Whereas Muslim rulers would never require the formul shaving of heads they might well insist that their servants (particularly those of high rank) in fact done during the time of Banda's uprising. Muzaffar Alam, 'Sikh uprisings under Banda Bahadur, 1708-1715', Studies in History I.2 (1979), p.207. If in this context bhadaṇā (or bhadaṇā) means hair-cutting of any kind it presumably bears the same meaning wherever it occurs in the ChS text. Cf. monā, note 37. In the Nand Lal section bhadan seems to bear the traditional sense of shaving the head (GNDU f.196a, SRI, f.97a).
- object (of which there are traditionally five), worldly or sensual enjoyment, an object of pleasure or lust. In AG usage bikhiā and bikh characteristically mean anything which deludes or confuses clarity of perception. This may include alcohol or poison. Cf. AG mean tobacco. It is difficult to determine precisely when it acquired this specific sensu, doubt that this is the exclusive meaning of the word whenever it is used in ChS. See also American Indian origin which presumably reached the Punjab via Arabic and/or Persian (GNDU ff.197a, 198a; SRL ff.98a-b).
- 110. This injunction is also recorded in the Bansāvalī-nāmā. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, however, adds a fourth item to the list of unpardonable sins: associating with any of the pañj mel
- 111. [a]ghorī, a member of the Aghor panth. Aghoris were Saivite mendicants distinguished by their decrepit clothing and by their willingness to consume the filthiest of food, including excrement and human carrion. As a receptacle for food and drink Aghoris commonly used a human skull. MK, p.33.
- 112. The SRL version translates as: 'Gursikhs should show no sympathy towards transgressors of the Rahit who worship at tombs and sepulchres (marie).' See 137.
- 113. M4, Asā 54, AG p.366.
- 114. hukaī: one who smokes a hookah.
- 115. yar: a wanton person (male or female); adulterer; fornicator.
- 116. M1, Vār Sārang 7:1, AG p.1240.
- 117. M3, Gauṛī Bairāganī 27(5), AG p.233.
- 118. guramantar. This is presumably the same as sat nām mantar, the mantra of the Khalsa which is imparted to the neophyte at the time of initiation (90). The mantra may have comprised nothing more than the sanctified expression sat nām (True Name), or it may

- have been a longer formula incorporating the term, e.g. sat nām vāh gurū. Trumpp claimed that the 'ground mantra' was sat akāl srī gurū (E.Trumpp, The Adi Granth, London, 1877, p.cxiii). The mantra was evidently to be regularly repeated as a devotional exercise and used as a pious ejaculation. This assumes, of course, that the mantra consisted of a single word or a brief phrase. Writing in the late nineteenth century, however, Gian Singh identified the guramantar as the first five stanzas of Japjī Sāhib (idem, Tavārīkh Gurū Khālsā, Part I, Patiala, 1970, p.860).
- 119. M5, Śalok Sahaskritī 33, AG pp.1356-57. The ChS version differs substantially from the AG text.
- 120. jur: the topknot which the male Sikh forms by tying his long hair in a knotted bunch on the crown of his head.
- 121. vāhigurūjī kā khālsā vāh[i]gurūjī kā fate[h].
- 122. sat nām mantar. See above note 118.
- 123. bhand bhagatīā. bhand (bhānd): an itinerant entertainer, buffoon, mimic. bhagatīā: a professional dancer.
- 124. M4, Devagandhārī 6, AG p.528.
- 125. M5, Gaurī Bāvan Akharī 27, AG p.255.
- 126. M4, Vār Gaurī 9:2, AG p.304.
- 127. M1, Vār Malār 21, AG p.1288.
- 128. In the Adi Granth māyā signifies the corrupt and corrupting world with all its snares, seductively presented to man as permanent and incorruptible and thus masquerading as ultimate truth (GNSR pp.185-7, 243). In ChS, however, it means simply money, filthy lucre.
- 129. M1, Mārtī Solahe 9(13), AG p.1029.
- 130. The word kāṇā is used in two distinct metaphorical senses in addition to its literal meaning of 'having only one eye'. The literal meaning obviously applies to the reference in section 122 listing features which disqualify a man from administering the Khalsa rite of initiation. The more obvious of the metaphorical usages is the meaning which must here be attached to the proper method of distributing food, viz. without partiality (kāṇā na hovai). The other metaphorical sense derives from a line in the Adi Granth by Namdev (AG p.875):

hindū annā turakū kāṇā.

The Hindu is blind, the Muslim one-eyed. The term thus applied to the Muslim came to be used as a synonym for Muslim (MK, p.237; GM, p.352).

- 131. See 107 and note 61.
- 132. M5, Dhanāsarī 24, AG p.677.
- 133. See note 60.
- 134. Guru Nanak explicitly declares that visiting tiraths is a futile exercise (GNSR pp.210-11, 213). It is, however, made clear in a subsequent injunction in section 121 that the

compiler has in mind destinations which are very different from the traditional Hindu tiraths. Sikhs who proceed on pilgrimage should only visit 'places associated with the Gurus'. It is evident that the compiler is prepared to retain traditional Hindu terminology, but with distinctively Sikh meanings. Another example is pujārī (see note 60).

135. The word guraduara (anglicized as 'gurdwara') is here used in a sense which clearly implies a meaning different from that of dharamasala. The local centre for assembly and worship was the dharamasālā (see note 13). The guraduārā on the other hand was evidently a special place which one visited on pilgrimage in the manner that one visited a tirath. This suggests a distinction between the two terms. The distinction is, however, limited to this particular context. It marks an early stage in a complementary transfer, one which progressively restricted the meaning of dharamasālā while simultaneously enlarging the sense of guraduārā.

Within the Sikh tradition dharamasālā was originally used to designate the structure in which a local sangat gathered for congregational singing (kiratan) and religious discourse (kathā). The term gurū duārā, on the other hand, referred not to a particular place or building but to the grace of the Guru, understood as the mythical 'voice' of God. Guru Amar Das uses it in this sense in Sirī Rāgu 17-50, AG p.33:

devan-vāle kai hathi dāti hai gurū duārai pāi

The gift [of salvation] is from the [divine] Giver and is obtained through the Guru (guru-duārai).

Although this was plainly the Adi Granth sense of the term it was soon to undergo change. Places associated with the Gurus acquired particular sanctity and as such imparted a special blessing. In this way the single word guraduārā evidently came to be applied to Sikh places of pilgrimage (locations which are today marked by the so-called 'historic' gurdwaras).

Meanwhile circumstances were preparing for the shift in meaning which was to dislodge dharamasālā. Two developments eventually produced this change. The first was the attribution of the Guru's authority to the Adi Granth. When the sacred scripture received the role and status of Guru it ipso facto became the means whereby grace was communicated gurū duārā. The second development was the practice of installing copies of the sacred scripture in dharamsalas. This meant that the means of grace and guidance was now located within the sangat's place of assembly. The place of assembly, formerly a dharamasālā, thus became known as a guraduārā.

The varying ChS usage of both dharamasālā and guraduārā indicates that the two terms were in transition during the mid-eighteenth century, each retaining an earlier sense yet perceptibly moving towards its modern meaning. Whereas in sections 1 and 3 dharamasālā designates the sangat's place of assembly, the sense explicitly stated in 144 is that of a hospice maintained for travellers. It is thus shifting from the cult-centre itself to an appendage of the cult-centre. This it does in response to the presence of the sacred scripture. The intermediate phase which effectively produces this change is also represented in the ChS text. References in 132 and 498 specifically note the presence of the Granth Sahib within the dharamsala, and mention of prostration in 559 clearly implies

Meanwhile $guradu\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ is moving into its place. In 111 and 112 it bears the restrictive meaning corresponding to tirath. The usage in 416, however, renders it synonymous with the early meaning of dharamasālā. In this latter instance it evidently applied to the regular gathering-place of the sangat and as such acquired its normal modern meaning.

- 136. M1, Japjī 21, AG p. 4.
- 137. This injunction is very difficult to construe. The translation is uncertain.
- 138. Sections 113-115 (GNDU ff. 11a-12a, SRL ff. 21b-22b) have been recorded out of place. They belong with the apocalyptic material which begins with section 569. This is clear from their distinctive language (particularly the verb forms), from their subject

- matter, and from their use of the withering term raule da sikh. These sections do not appear in the PSP text.
- 139. M1, Vār Mājh 21:1, AG p. 147.
- 140. M1, Gaurī Bairāganī 18:3, AG p. 229.
- 141. M1, Vār Āsā 12, AG p. 470.
- 142. M1, Āsā 36, AG p. 359.
- 143. M1, Sirī Rāgu 4, AG p.15.
- 144. rajak ghāt: the bank of a stream or edge of a tank where dhobis (rajak) wash clothes.
- 145. tate pāso, viz. turak pāson, 'from a Muslim'. PSP, p. 85n.
- 146. jis daiā vich vighan nikale: lit. 'the kind of compassion which produces obstacles'.
- 147. udāsī, 'solitude'. The word implies withdrawal from worldly concerns. It is used by the Puratan janam-sakhis to describe the travels of Guru Nanak (EST, pp. 30, 110-11, 179), which indicates that these journeys were originally perceived as 'withdrawals'. The strong emphasis on a missionary purpose is evidently a later interpretation. The word udāsī is also used to designate the sect of Sikh ascetics who claim descent from Guru Nanak's son Siri Chand (EST, p.35; B40 (Eng), p. 96).
- 148. Farid, Śalok 129, AG p. 1384.
- 149. M10, Krisan avatar 2489, DG p. 570.
- 150. GNDU adds: 'Do not engage in discourse with any who are disposed to argue' (f. 35a).
- 151. chandal: the offspring of promiscuous intercourse between a Shudra man and a Brahman woman; an outcaste; a sweeper.
- 152. Chandī charitra ukati bilās 146, DG p. 88.
- 153. M1, Vār Mārū 1:1, AG pp. 1086-87.
- 154. Ibid., p. 1087.
- 155. Source not identified. Not in AG or DG.
- 156. BG XXXIV.2.
- 157. M1, Vār Āsā 15, AG p. 471.
- 158. M4, Vār Gaurī 8:2, AG p. 303.
- 159. M1, Vār Āsā 5:2, AG p. 465.
- 160. M1, Dakhanī Oankār 4, AG p. 930.
- 161. M3, Vār Bilāval 1:2, AG p. 849. This injunction is not quite as puritanical as the English translation may suggest. In a semi-literate society, without access to mass-produced printing, songs normally assume the sexually suggestive function which

- in much of the modern world is covered by printed text, illustrations, cinema, and television. When the rahit-nama writer warns his readers and hearers against the ras ('flavour') of worldly music he almost certainly has its sexual associations in mind.
- 162. sākhī: an anecdote concerning Guru Nanak; a story from a janam-sakhi.
- 163. M3, Rāmakalī Anand 24, AG p. 920.
- 164. M5, Āsā 62, AG p. 386.
- 165. See note 18.
- 166. mathā teke. The action indicated by the common expression mathā tekaṇā, 'to place the forehead', involves crouching on one's hands and knees and touching the ground with one's forehead as a gesture of reverence and submission. Elsewhere in the English translation it is rendered 'to prostrate oneself'.
- 167. pārasu bheţie, 'touched by the pāras', is presumably a quotation from the Adi Granth. The words occur in Guru Amar Das' Prabhātī Bibhās 1(10), AG p.1346. The pāras is the legendary philosopher's stone which turns any base metal which it touches into gold.
- 168. Kabir, Śalok 156, AG p. 1372.
- 169. vāhagurū jī kī fate[h]. See above note 121 for the complete form. Whereas the complete form was clearly regarded as mandatory in the order for baptism (90, 181) this abbreviated form was evidently to be used as a benediction (as in this instance) and as a greeting (150-51, 363). There is, however, disagreement concerning this shortened form. The PSP text records a specific prohibition of its usage (PSP, p. 97).
- 170. Farid, Śalok 95, AG p. 1382.
- 171. Lit. 'The Guru is his, he is the Guru's.'
- 172. kasabī: lit. 'one who works for wages'. The usual connotation is 'prostitute'. It appears to have been included in this injunction by mistake. The PSP version is pakhanḍī, 'hypocrite'.
- 173. gor (tomb), marī (shrine of a deceased Hindu), qabar (tomb). A marī differs from the Muslim gor or qabar in that the body of the deceased will have been cremated and the structure thus neither contains nor covers a corpse. Such cenotaphs are often to be found at cremation grounds and the word marī is commonly used to designate the actual cremation ground rather than commemorative cenotaphs. In modern usage the latter is normally called a samādhi. For relevant AG and DG texts see GM, p. 758.
- 174. 33 Savayye 1, DG p. 712.
- 175. M5, Sārang 113, AG p. 1226.
- 176. M5, Sārang 13, AG p. 1206.
- 177. M5, Āsā 43, AG p. 381.
- 178. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 5(7), AG p. 269.
- 179. A minor variant in the SRL text, although almost certainly an error, suggests an intriguing alternative meaning. The GNDU and PSP versions both conclude the injunction with the

three final words of the shalok by Guru Angad which has been placed at the end of Japjī Sāhib (AG, p. 8). In place of chhuṭī the SRL had chhaṭī and thus concluded with keṭī chhaṭī nāli. The word keṭī can mean niśān, 'symbol'; and chhaṭī (modern form chhaṭī) means 'stick'. Assisted by a certain measure of translator's licence one might arguably construe keṭī chhaṭī nāl to mean that the writer is instructing his readers to conclude each reading of the Granth Sahib 'with a symbol made with a [marking]-stick'. This could be taken to mean the practice of inscribing an auspicious symbol (such as a swastika) on one of the blank folios at the end of an Adi Granth manuscript after completing an unbroken reading (akhaṇḍ pāṭh) of that particular manuscript. The actual completing of a reading of the entire scripture is called the bhog (see above note 79) and the commemorative symbols are thus known as bhog marks. An example of this practice is provided by the superb manuscript copy of the Adi Granth held by the British Library (BL MS. Or. 1125).

Such an interpretation would, however, be far-fetched. The point is worth noting only because it draws attention to the absence of *bhog*-marking instructions in the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā*. References to the practice of performing akhaṇḍ pāṭh are also conspicuous by their absence.

- 180. vāh gurū, vāh gurū.
- 181. man (manas): the human faculty combining the mind, heart, and soul of conventional Western usage; the psyche (GNSR, pp.178-81).
- 182. M5, Bilāval 58, AG p.815.
- 183. Lit. 'five, seven, ten or a hundred Sikh households'.
- 184. M1, Dhanāsarī 7, AG p.662. Sahib Singh, Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Darapan, vol.5, p.13, interprets this line as follows: 'That man is declared to be trustworthy in which purity resides.'
- 185. M5, Bilāval 88, AG pp.821-22. The 'five demons' are the five evil impulses (lust, anger, covetousness, attachment, and pride). GNSR, pp.184-85,
- 186. M5, Sūhī 54, AG p.749. The compiler neglects to quote Guru Arjan's Sūhī 42, p.745, which also refers to the kes.
- 187. M1, Rāmakalī Aṣṭ 7(3), AG p.906. The AG version reads: 'When Yama, rushing [in], seizes you by the kes and strikes you, falling unconscious you disappear into the jaws of Death.'
- 188. M5, Gūjarī Dupade 20, AG p.500. The AG version reads: 'To wipe the feet of [your] slaves with my kes is my dearest desire.'
- 189. Kabir, Gond 2, AG p.870.
- 190. Kabir, Śalok 25, AG p.1365.
- 191. M10, Akāl Ustat 252, DG p.35.
- 192. There now follows a series of brief aphorisms, almost all of them expressed in a simple three-word form. The style is distinctively different from that normally used for recording Rahit injunctions in ChS.
- 193. deg: cauldron, cooking-pot. In eighteenth century usage the deg symbolizes the langar, the kitchen attached to every dharamsala or gurdwara. The langar itself symbolizes the

generosity of the Guru bestowed on a commensal society.

- 194. See note 75.
- 195. purī, purīā: a small bag or packet made from leaf or paper.
- 196. See 516.
- 197. M2, Vār Sūhī 7:3, AG p.787.
- 198. SRL, f.43b.
- 199. PSP p.93.
- 200. srī akāl purakh: the Timeless One, God.
- 201. pūran purakh: the Perfected One, Guru Gobind Singh.
- 202. This description of the sixth Guru is a free translation of the term teg deg de dhani, 'the blessed one of the sword and cooking-pot'.
- 203. According to Puranic cosmography the world comprised a series of concentric dvīpa or 'continents' (normally computed as seven), with Jambudvipa situated at the very centre of the system. Jambudvipa was itself divided into nine varsa or 'regions'. Bharat-varsa (India) lay at the outer extremity and Mount Sumeru (or Mount Meru) at the very centre. Between the regions lay mountain ranges, the first of them being the Himalayas. The name Hem Kund (also Hem Kunt and Hem Kut), 'golden-peaked', was variously applied to two of Jambudvipa's prominent features. It was the name attached to the second of the dividing mountain ranges, the one separating the second varsa (Kinnar) from the third; and it was also applied to Mount Sumeru which was believed to consist of

The tradition that Guru Gobind Singh had performed austerities on Hem Kund in a previous incarnation derives from Bachitra Nātak, attributed to the Guru himself.

And now my own story I tell,

How from rigorous austerities I was summoned by God;

Called from the heights of Hem Kunt

Where the seven peaks so grandly pierce the sky.

-Bachitra Natak 6:1, DG p.54

It is difficult to tell whether this reference in Bachitra Nātak points to Mount Sumeru or to the Hem Kund range of mountains. Whereas the singular form hem kunt parabat in the third line implies a single mountain, the 'seven peaks' (sapat-sring) of the fourth line seems better suited to the latter possibility. For the ChS narrator, however, its meaning is clear. Hem Kund is identified with Mount Sumeru and it was thus on the mountain of gold at the centre of the universe that the tenth Guru performed his austerities before taking birth as the son of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Mount Sumeru also figures prominently in the janam-sakhis (EST, p.145; B40 (Eng), p.91).

- 204. sammat 1718 māg de mahīne krisan pakh thit satamī ravivār, corresponding to 31 January 1662. There is considerable controversy concerning Guru Gobind Singh's date of birth, though most sources agree that it took place in S.1723 (1666 A.C.). The strongest contender is Poh sudi 7, S.1723, corresponding to 22 December 1666. (Grewal and Bal, Guru Gobind Singh, Chandigarh, 1967, p.30; MK, p.321; Macauliffe iv.358).
- 205. Magh *vadī* 7, S.1718, was a Friday.

- 206. madra des: the Punjab. Madra Des has been variously identified as the area between the Beas and Jhelum rivers; between the Beas and the Chenab; and between the Satlui and the Ravi (MK, p.709).
- 207. $khid\bar{a}v\bar{a}$: one who is employed to supervise and entertain a small child.
- 208. The Bansāvalī-nāmā, 10:6-7, claims that the Guru was taught Gurmukhi by Harijas Rai, another member of the Chhibbar Brahman family.
- 209. A script very similar to Gurmukhi which was used for bookkeeping and accounting records. The script was used for many of the inscriptions which appear on the Pahari paintings of the period mid-seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries. It survived in the Punjab Hills well into the nineteenth century, but was eventually abandoned (W.G.Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, London, New York and Delhi, 1973, vol.1, p.xxxi). It is difficult to determine when it disappeared from the plains. partly because its use was private and partly because its similarity to Gurmukhi presumably permitted an imperceptible process of assimilation. For an example, see Archer, vol.2, pp.139, 151. PSP omits Takri but expands the reference to Gurmukhi (*PSP*, p.87).
- 210. PSP: śāstrī, viz. Deva-nagari. PSP, p.88.
- 211. Kirpa Ram Datt, a Brahman from Matan in Kashmir, was a first cousin of Chaupa Singh. His mother was the sister of Chaupa Singh's father. He served both the ninth and tenth Gurus as scribe and translator, and was killed at the Battle of Chamkaur (Piara Singh Padam, Srī Gurū Gobind Singh jū de darabārī ratan, Patiala, 1976, pp.79-80). See Introduction, p.16.
- 212. The first of Guru Gobind Singh's three marriages was to Jito, daughter of Bhikhia Khatri of Lahore. The generally accepted date of the marriage is 23 Har, S.1734 (7 July 1677), a year and eight months after the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur (MK, p.393; Grewal and Bal, op.cit., p.51).
- 213. The son of Chaupa Singh's nephew Hardayal (Piara Singh Padam, op. cit., p.88). See Introduction, p.16.
- 214. bānk: a dagger with a curved blade; patā: a long, broad, two-edged sword; phul-hathā: cudgelling.
- 215. The ChS narrative offers two accounts of the arrest and execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur (159-167, 265). Although the second account is much briefer than the first it supplies two details which are missing from its predecessor. The first is its claim that the reason for the Guru's arrest was a charge laid by his hostile relative Dhir Mal. The second is that the Guru set out to travel to Delhi in secret, but was arrested following an incident in a village where his attendant had been sent to bring water. This incident is related in clearer detail by Kesar Singh Chhibbar in the Bansāvalī-nāmā 9:64ff.

Although the version offered by ChS and the Bansavali-nāmā is very different from the traditional account of the arrest of Guru Tegh Bahadur (see for example Macauliffe iv.371ff.), its substantial accuracy receives support from the principal sources now used for reconstructing the events of the Guru's life and death (the Bhatt vahis and the Pandha vāhīs). See Fauja Singh and G.S.Talib, Guru Tegh Bahadur (Patiala, 1975), pp.xiii, 90ff. Two features deserve to be noted. The first is the close connection linking the ChS and Bansāvalī-nāmā narratives. It is at once obvious that they derive from a common source. The second feature, writ large in the two related narratives, is their concern to magnify the status and reputation of the Chhibbar Brahmans. See Introduction, pp.18. 45-46.

- 216. Guru Tegh Bahadur's first arrest and summons to Delhi took place in 1665. Fauja Singh and G.S.Talib, op. cit., p.44.
- 217. The concern of the two Chhibbar narratives (ChS and B-n) to vaunt the Chhibbar reputation is well illustrated by their emphasis on the roles of Mati Das and Sati Das during the events leading to the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The brothers Mati Das and Sati Das were the sons of a Chhibbar Brahman who is variously named Hira Nand and Hira Mal (Fauja Singh and G.S. Talib, op. cit., pp.100, 101). Mati Das, the elder, was the Guru's divan, and Sati Das was his cook. The Chhibbar narratives are evidently correct in claiming that the two brothers were executed with their master. They mislead, however, in implying that the two Chhibbars were the only Sikhs to stand by the Guru and share in his death (ibid. p.97). For their place in the Chhibbar family tree see the Introduction, p.16.
- 218. Thursday, 11 November 1675.
- 219. M10, Bachitra Nāṭak 5:15-16, DG p.54.
- 220. sucham karake: 'keeping it undefiled'.
- 221. dui gharī pakkī tīk: 'for two complete gharīs'. A gharī is equivalent to twenty-four minutes.
- 222. hari-sar. See note 77.
- 223. According to Hindu custom the Garuda Purana is read during funeral ceremonies. In place of garar puran the PSP text has sanskrift saloka[n], viz. the Salok Sahaskrift which are recorded near the end of the Adi Granth (AG pp.1353ff; PSP, p.89).
- 224. braham bhoj jag: a ritual feast (yajanā, yagya, jag) at which Brahmans are fed.
- 225. For the masands see note 25. This reference concerns a period when the masands were still relatively respectable.
- 226. The wife of Guru Tegh Bahadur and mother of Guru Gobind Singh. Gujari was the daughter of Lal Chand, a Subhikhi Khatri of Lakhnaur (near Ambala) who had settled in Kartarpur. Her brother Kirpal Chand achieved prominence during the time of Guru Gobind Singh (Fauja Singh and G.S.Talib, op.cit., p.14).
- 227. sāhibazāde nū rāj tilak hovai: 'Let the young master receive [on his forehead] the symbolic mark of royal authority.'
- 228. kārakhānā ture: 'the workshop will function'. Kesar Singh Chhibbar uses the word in a sense which plainly designates the Guru's family and personal retinue or entourage (B-n 10:625).
- 229. Saturday, 24 March 1677. The traditional date of the consecration of Guru Gobind Singh is the first day of Baisakh, S.1733 (29 March 1676) (Harbans Singh, Guru Gobind Singh, Chandigarh, 1966, p.31).
- 230. See Introduction, p.17.
- 231. See Introduction, p.16.
- 232. Guru Har Rai (1630-1661).

- 233. Guru Har Krishan (1656-1664) and Guru Tegh Bahadur (1621-1675).
- 234. sar-o-pā: 'head to foot', a robe of honour, a khil'at.
- 235. A Sanskrit drama relating the adventures of Hanuman. According to legend the original, inscribed on stone, was cast into the sea at the instance of Valmiki who feared that it would overshadow his own Rāmāyana. Portions of it were eventually recovered during the reign of King Bhoja of Malwa (1018-1055) and by his command the entire drama was recorded anew. It is clearly the work of several hands and evidently dates from the tenth or eleventh century. (John Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology &c, London, 1961, p.117; MK, p.194.)
- 236. 9 November 1678.
- 237. The feast, held on the anniversary of Guru Tegh Bahadur's death, was obviously a celebration of the śrādh rite. The PSP text refers to it as a śrādh ceremony.
- 238. Ruler of the hill state of Garhwal, defeated by Guru Gobind Singh at the Battle of Bhangani in 1688 (Grewal and Bal, pp.70ff).
- 239. The ChS narrator here refers to a tradition which Kesar Singh Chhibbar relates at greater length in the Bansāvalī-nāmā, a tradition which purports to explain how there came into existence a recension of the Adi Granth which incorporates works by the ninth Guru. The original version of the scripture was dictated by the fifth Guru to his amanuensis Bhai Gurdas in 1603-04. This manuscript passed from the sixth Guru to his grandson Dhir Mal, an unsuccessful aspirant to the title of Guru, who endeavoured to use it as support for his claim to the succession. It remained in the possession of his family and according to Kesar Singh Chhibbar the tenth Guru asked Dhir Mal in S.1753 (1696 A.C.) to surrender it. Dhir Mal scornfully replied that if Gobind Singh truly was the Guru he should prepare his own Granth. The challenge was accepted. Guru Gobind Singh dictated a fresh copy of the sacred scripture, thus producing what came to be known as the Damdama version (B-n 10:295-96).

For a more detailed statement of this tradition see GM, pp.411-414. The ChS narrator here presents it in summary form with one amendment. It was, he claims, the grandson of Dhir Mal to whom Guru Gobind Singh directed his request. The possibility that the tenth Guru made such a request is plausible but uncorroborated. The tradition that he subsequently dictated a new version is altogether implausible (Piara Singh Padam, Srī Gurū Granth Prakāś, Patiala, 1977, pp.94-95; ESC, p.75).

240. Rup Kaur (or Anup Kaur) is said to have been a young and beautiful Khatri widow of Lahore who endeavoured to seduce the Guru. Posing as a sadhu she took up her abode near Anandpur and used hirelings to spread the news that the newly arrived sadhu could communicate with the goddess Devi. This information considerably interested the Guru, and when he sent a messenger to arrange an interview he was instructed to come alone at midnight, clad in the garb of an ascetic. After receiving him the disguised Rup Kaur retired and then reappeared as the kind of woman a young man might find difficult to resist. The Guru, however, rebuked her and departed. The disappointed temptress raised the cry of 'Thief!', but the Guru escaped in the resultant confusion. In order to warn others against such dangers he recorded the numerous stories of female guile which appear in the Dasam Granth as the Charitra. (John Campbell Oman, The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India, London, 1903, pp.196-8). Oman, who names no source, adds that the Guru was persuaded by his experience to found the Nirmala order of Sikh sadhus (ibid., p.197). For the dominant traditions concerning the origin of the Charitra and the founding of the Nirmala order see MK, pp.343, 534.

- 241. Charitra (properly called the Pakhyān Charitra or Charitropākhyān and commonly known as the Tria Charitra) comprises a lengthy collection of anecdotes recorded in the Dasam Granth (DG, pp.809-1388). Drawn from a wide range of sources (Epic, Puranic, Rajput, Persian and native Punjabi) these stories lay repeated stress on the impressive skills which women bring to the art of seduction. There are exceptions to this rule amongst the 404 anecdotes contained in the Charitra, but a substantial majority offer variations on the dominant theme of feminine wiles. Because the Dasam Granth is regarded as a sacred scripture the collection is usually interpreted as a series of cautionary tales designed to protect careless men from the perils of lust and thus to promote the cause of morality. This is the attitude which the ChS narrator has evidently adopted. It is, however, possible to read the Charitra as a diverting anthology which includes a large number of distinctly risqué contributions. Although the number is given as 405, number 325 is missing from the Dasam Granth. (MK, p. 343; Dharam Pal Ashta, The Poetry of the Dasam Granth, New Delhi, 1959, pp.150-165; C.H.Loehlin, The Granth of Guru Gobind Singh and the Khalsa Brotherhood, Lucknow, 1971, pp.48-51.) Ashta's treatment includes translations of sample narratives.
- 242. This date (corresponding to 8 September 1696) is given at the conclusion of the collection as recorded in the Dasam Granth (DG, p.1388).
- 243. Although Baisakhi Day, S.1756 (30 March 1699) is generally accepted as the date of the Khalsa's inauguration, other claims have been made, including the date offered here by ChS (15 July 1697). Kesar Singh Chhibbar supports S.1754, but diverges from ChS with regard to the actual day. Whereas ChS specifies the seventh day of Savan, the Kesar Singh Chhibbar version claims that it took place on the eighteenth day of Chet (B-n 10:319). The differing views concerning the date of the event are acompanied by a wide variety of conflicting claims relating to what actually happened. For a discussion of this issue see Grewal and Bal, op. cit., pp.182-189. Grewal and Bal wisely conclude that in view of the paucity of contemporary or near-contemporary evidence the historian should, in the meantime, suspend judgement on most aspects of the controversy. See also Ganda Singh (ed.), Srī Gur Sobhā (Patiala, 1967), intro. pp.36-40.
- 244. $kator\bar{a}$: a shallow cup or bowl, usually made of a metal such as brass or copper.
- 245. karad, kārad: a crude knife used for domestic purposes. The PSP text has khandā, a two-edged sword (PSP, p.90).
- 246. The modern order of service for initiation into the Khalsa specifies ten savayye (the same ten as the daily nit-nem, viz. the ten taken from the Akāl Ustat 1.21-10.30, DG pp.13-15, (SRM, p.34). It is not clear which five savayye the ChS compiler had in mind.
- 247. The PSP text diverges from GNDU /SRL at this point. Having specified a khandā as the weapon to be used for stirring the baptismal water the PSP version then declares that five individuals were instructed to recite the savayyas. It continues:

Who [were these five? They were]: Daya Singh, a Khatri from Lahore; Sahib Singh from Southern India, of the same caste (*janam*) as Sain [the Bhagat, viz. a Nai or Barber]; Himmat Singh of Jagannath Puri, a fisherman by caste; Dharam Singh from Hastinapur, of the same caste as Dhanna [the Bhagat, viz. a Jat]; and fifthly Muhakam Singh of the same caste as Namdev [the Bhagat, viz. a Chhimba]. These five Singhs began to recite the savayyas.

PSP, pp.90-91

- 248. patāsā: a soluble confectionery.
- 249. Again the PSP text diverges. In place of Dharam Chand it substitutes Mata Sahib Devi

- (sic Mata Sahib Devan, the Guru's third wife) as the person responsible for adding sweets to the baptismal water (PSP, p.91).
- 250. a-mrit: 'deathless'; the water of eternal life; the nectar of immortality.
- 251. Chanqī charitra ukati bilās 231, DG p.99. The final line also appears in the Krisan avatār 2489, DG p.570. See section 121.
- 252. vāhu gurūjī kā khālsā vāhu gurūjī kī fate[h]. Cf. 90.
- 253. The text gives as the Guru's response to Chaupa Singh: tanakhālao ino pāso. This comes very close to tanakhāh lo ino[n] pāso[n] which means 'Fine them' or 'Punish them'. With this slight amendment the response is actually a formula which properly belongs to a later portion of the text (see below note 300). In the context of the first initiation ceremony, however, it seems unlikely. Much of section 181 as recorded in the GNDU/SRL text is doubtful and the translation should not be read as definitive (GNDU, ff. 59a-60a. SRL, f. 42a-b). The PSP text (p.91) is coherent, but like the remainder of the PSP version of the first initiation ceremony probably represents a later amendment.
- 254. The rite which is to be performed is a sacred observance and karah prasad should therefore be provided. During the course of the rite (presumably at its conclusion) the karah prasad will be distributed to all who are present. See note 75.
- 255. M1, Japjī 16, AG p.3.
- 256. See note 118.
- 257. The Sikh festival of Hola, or Hola Mahalla, takes place on the first day of the month of Chet (Chetra, March/April), the day following the Hindu festival of Holi which falls on the last day of Phagan (Phalguna). The instituting of the festival is attributed to Guru Gobind Singh, the specific purpose being to provide for his followers a day of military exercises. The day is still celebrated at Anandpur Sahib with martial competitions and a mock battle.
- 258. Cheto's misdemeanours and the Guru's subsequent treatment of the masands is described in greater detail by Kesar Singh Chhibbar (B-n 10:333-355) and also in SPr. On the occasion of the annual Baisakhi and Divali festivals the masands were expected to bring to the Guru gifts which they had received on his behalf. Cheto, however, was appropriating gifts for his own personal enrichment and issuing false receipts. When this came to light he was supported by his fellow masands. The Guru's express summons were disobeyed, with the result that the masands and their adherents, together with the Dhirmalias, Ram Raias, and Minas (i.e. the pañj mel, note 25) were excommunicated. All loyal Sikhs were commanded to attach themselves to the Guru's Khalsa and render their allegiance directly to him. The ChS text is particularly corrupt when relating the story of the masands' rude disobedience and needs extensive supplementing in order to produce a coherent narrative. For a note on the reference to masands being burnt see Surjit Singh Gandhi, History of the Sikh Gurus, Delhi, 1978, p. 427. For Cheto the Masand see also Gian Singh, Tavārīkh Gurū Khālsā, vol. 1, Patiala, 1970, pp.865-66.
- 259. The SRL text omitted sections 185-246.
- 260. M1, Vār Āsā 22, AG p. 474.
- 261. surapur: 'city of the gods', Indra's abode.
- 262. The PSP version omits sections 194-280.

- 263. chār padārath: prosperity, goodness, success and salvation. MK, p. 347.
- 264. Bachitra Nāṭak 6:30, DG p. 57.
- 265. Ibid 6:29, DG p. 57.
- 266. Ibid 14:5, DG p. 73.
- 267. Ibid 6:32, DG p. 57.
- 268. Ibid 6:60, DG p. 59.
- 269. This story figures prominently in the Gurbilas literature and John Malcolm reported a version of it in his Sketch of the Sikhs (Calcutta, 1810), p. 222n. A century later Macauliffe related the transformed version presented by Gian Singh in Panth Prakās (M.A. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, Oxford, 1909, vol.v, chap. viii. See also Khazan Singh, History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion, Part I, Lahore, 1914, pp.170-172). Surjit Singh Hans has noted the fascination which Durga exercised over the Sikh writers of the eighteenth century, particularly those responsible for the Gurbilas literature: 'Historical analysis of Sikh literature' (unpub. Guru Nanak Dev University PhD thesis, Amritsar, 1980), pp.419, 430-32, 458, 504-5. See also his articles 'The Gurbilas in the early nineteenth century', Journal of Regional History II (1981), pp.51-53; and in particular 'Prem Sumarg a modern forgery' in Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference 1982 (Patiala, 1982), pp. 180-81. In the latter he argues that the so-called Prem Sumārag cannot be an eighteenth-century work precisely because it fails to mention the goddess Devi.

No eighteenth century Sikh writing, especially *Gurbilases* can fail to bring up Goddess or Devi. They are lineal descendants of the *Bachittar Natak*. They are nagged in varying degrees by the question of the appearance of the goddess before Guru Gobind Singh.

- Loc. cit., p. 181

- For further definitions of the four varieties of Sikh see section 596. See also Introduction, pp.45-47.
- 271. The SRL text included section 247 which reads:

Sikhs should not behave in this manner. They should never contemplate such, wickedness, such sins, such infamy.

This comment actually connects well with section 184 which precedes it in the SRL text. There is thus no visible evidence of an omission, apart from the discrepancy in section numbers which results.

- 272. jāmā: garment, body.
- 273. The first recension of the Adi Granth was dictated by Guru Arjan to Bhai Gurdas in 1603-04. ESC, p. 60.
- 274. See note 25.
- 275. M10, Akāl Ustat, Invocation, DG p. 11.
- 276. Source not identified. The couplet is not recorded in the Dasam Granth. The first three words translated as 'breeches, bangle, and a knife' are kachh dadhā karab. The translation assumes that dadhā must have the same meaning as karā, and that karab should read karad.

- 277. M1, Surplus Shaloks 12, AG p. 1411.
- 278. M1, Vār Mājh 16, AG p. 145.
- 279. Surjit Singh Hans, 'Historical analysis of Sikh literature', pp. 182-92.
- 280. For the janam-sakhi story of Lalo and Bhago see EST, pp. 86-87.
- 281. The two rababis (the rabab-players who sang kirtan for the Guru) were Balvand and Satta, to whom an Adi Granth var is attributed (*Tikke dī Vār* in Ramakali raga, AG pp.966-68). For a different version of the story concerning their insolence, chastisement and eventual repentance see Macauliffe ii. 21-24.
- 282. For the tradition concerning the faithful service performed by Amar Das as Guru Angad's water-carrier see Macauliffe ii. 35, 42-43.
- 283. This story is related in the Mahimā Prakāś Kavitā, sakhi 24. Sarup Das Bhalla, Mahimā Prakāś, ed. Gobind Singh Lamba and Khazan Singh (Patiala, 1971), pp. 236-39.
- 284. This anecdote may possibly be a version of the story of Sahari Mal (Macauliffe ii. 276). Its principal features appear, however, to derive from the story of Chandu Shah, the Khatri of Lahore who unsuccessfully sought to marry his daughter to Guru Arjan's son, Hargobind. A traditional view of Guru Arjan's death attributes it to the malign influence of the humiliated Chandu Shah (Macauliffe iii. 70-100).
- 285. Prithi Chand (1558-1618) was the eldest of Guru Ram Das's three sons and Arjan (1563-1606) the youngest. The middle son was Mahadev (1560-1605) (MK, pp. 60, 603, 700, 775). For the tradition concerning Guru Ram Das's choice of the youngest son as his successor, see Macauliffe ii. 276-84. For a slightly different version of the story of Prithi Chand's attempt to poison the child Hargobind, see Macauliffe iii. 46-47.
- 286. The Pathans who committed treachery against the sixth Guru were Painda Khan and his associates. Painda Khan was an orphan who entered the Guru's service as a young man. Tradition relates that he was gifted with enormous physical strength and that this strength combined with his warrior skills won him high favour in the eyes of his Master. Conscious of his own ability he grew in pride which eventually turned to insolence. Eventually he was dismissed following an attempt to conceal the fact that his son-in-law had stolen a hunting hawk belonging to the Guru's son Gurditta. He complained to the Emperor who sent an army against the Guru in 1634. The army was defeated at Kartarpur in modern Jalandhar District and Painda Khan was slain by the Guru's own hand (Macauliffe iv. 52, 66, 88, 98-99, 191-208; MK, p. 588).
- 287. A person called Mihar Chand appears in the traditions relating to Guru Har Rai, but he does not match the description offered in this ChS anecdote. A great-grandson of Guru Nanak named Mihar Chand served as mahant at the Dehra Baba Nanak shrine during the period of the seventh Guru. There is, however, no indication that he bore enmity towards the Guru. He was, moreover, a Khatri of the Bedi got, whereas Mihar Chand is said in the text to have been a Khahir (Macauliffe iv. 288. MK p. 726).
- 288. There is no section numbered 266.
- 289. pandi: bundle, 'the burden [of responsibility]'.
- 290. The Guru and the sangat are one. The Guru is the Khalsa and the Khalsa is Guru. See Grewal and Bal, op. cit., pp. 125-6.

- 291. M5, Asa Chhant 11 (1), AG p. 460. The compiler has jumbled two lines of the Adl Granth original.
- 292. vahagurū niārā kītā hai. niara: separate, distinct; the process of separating gold from dross.
- 293. savā lakh.
- 294. M1, Dakhanī Oankār 27, AG p. 933.
- 295. The PSP text rejoins the GNDU/SRL text at this point. See above p.171.
- 296. jetā sabh akār. AG: jetā jagatu sansāru, 'the entire world'.
- 297. M3, Var Vadahans 21:1, AG p. 594.
- 298. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 18:1, AG p. 286.
- 299. purakhārat (puruṣārat): any of the four traditional goals of human life, viz. kām, the gratification of sexual desire; arath, the acquisition of worldly wealth; dharam (dharma), the discharge of duty; and mokh (mokṣa), emancipation.
- 300. tanakhāh: penance, fine. For a discussion of tanakhāh and its derivative tanakhāhīā, 'transgressor', see Introduction, pp.25-26, 32. In sections 287-547 most injunctions conclude with the formula so tanakhāhīā, 'he is a transgressor', or 'he should be required to perform a penance'. Whereas the Punjabi form is commendably brief its English translation would become intolerably cumbersome if repeated after each injunction. A somewhat different format has therefore been devised. The repeated usage of so tanakhāhīā (or the variant form su tanakhāiā) is covered by a single introductory statement: 'The following offenders should be required to undergo a penance.' Thereafter the various offenders are listed without further mention of the fact that each is to be regarded as a tanakhāhīā. In a few instances the terminal formula has been strengthened in the original to read so pakkā tanakhāhīā, 'he is a grievous offender'; and in one instance the expression bhallā tanakhāhīā is used (443). The insertion of pakkā usually seems to be indiscriminate and no account has been taken of it (or of bhallā) in the translation.
- 301. chihare de rom: facial hair. Because this injunction is specifically directed to Sahaj-dhari Sikhs it presumably refers only to the beard and not to the hair on the head.
- 302. In ChS usage prasād sometimes means ordinary food, sometimes sacramental food (kaṛāh prasād). See above section 45 and note 75. As in the section 45 instance the single word prasād seems better understood as kaṛāh prasād in this and other references which occur in sections 288-296 passim. The usage implies a ritual context, notably in the case of prasād which is brought into the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib (290). In one instance reference is made to prasādi gur kā, 'the Guru's prasād' (294), a term which the Nand Lāl Rahit-nāmā uses in a manner which similarly implies ritual usage (GNDU, f. 200a; SRL, f. 99b). The references in 298-300, however, seem to designate ordinary food, although the first of them specifies food consumed in a langar.
- 303. See above section 31. It appears that Sahaj-dhari Sikhs as well as Amrit-dhari members of the Khalsa were expected to wear only turbans on their head.
- 304. Lit. 'One should wear one's loin-cloth within the man.' The word langot, 'loin-cloth', has strong sexual associations. A langot-band is one who keeps his langot fastened, viz. a celibate ascetic; and langot kholanā (lit. 'to open the langot') means 'to have sexual

- intercourse'. In place of a loin-cloth the Sikh should, of course, wear a kachh.
- 305. The SRL copyist added the following exhortation at this point:

 Repeat [the words] 'Sri Vahiguru' continuously. [Do so] spontaneously with every breath, whether sitting or rising. This is a Sikh practice which [every] Sikh is expected to observe.

 The exhortation is obviously out of place in a tanakhāhīā list.
- 306. To purify a *chaukā* (cooking-square, or place where food is prepared) it is necessary to smear it with a mixture of mud and cow-dung.
- 307. zimedār vāsī. This presumably refers to the sarapañch or village headman.
- 308. Translation uncertain.
- 309. 'The act of spreading out the hand before a person's face, the palm being before him. This is a very grave insult.' (Maya Singh, *The Panjabi Dictionary* (Lahore, 1895), p.169). *PSP* version: 'The Sikh who in anger speaks ill of another Sikh.' (*PSP*, p. 94).
- 310. This offence, like the two which precede and the three which follow it, involves gross insult. The proscribed actions also imply challenges to the person thus insulted.
- 311. paradesī. In modern usage paradesī normally means 'foreign'. For the eighteenth century, however, it was much more restricted in terms of geographical distance. One's des was one's own area and this might well be limited to a few square miles.
- 312. jo sikh nū gurū dā māriā ākhe, lit. He who says to a Sikh, "May the Guru strike you down."
- 313. This offence and the one which follows may be proscribed because they imply disrespect to the sword or because the sword is less accessible if carried in such positions.
- 314. See note 9.
- 315. It is a simple matter to remove a turban without unwinding it and then to put it on again as one puts on a hat. The practice is here proscribed by the GNDU and PSP texts. SRL omitted this offence.
- 316. See note 118.
- 317. nache. This is unlikely to refer to the 'nautch' performed by dancing-girls as the proscription is evidently directed to males. It may refer to religious dances such as the Krishna lila, or perhaps to rural folk-dances such as the modern bhangra. If the proscription concerns the latter it has been conspicuously ineffective. The verb nachna also means 'to caper, frolic, romp'.
- 318. The proscription may also include the staining of finger-nails and toe-nails.
- 319. M4, Var Gaurī 15:1, AG p. 308.
- 320. bhādanī. See note 108.
- 321. PSP omits this offence.
- 322. pret: devil, fiend.

- 323. SRL omitted this offence.
- 324. In rahit-nama usage the term *malechh*, 'impure foreigner' or 'barbarian', normally designates a Muslim. See note 32. The intention of this regulation is not entirely clear. It evidently means that descendants of the Gurus, having received devout offerings from Sikhs, should not pass on any portion to the Muslim rulers as tax or for any other purpose.
- 325. SRL omitted this offence.
- 326. harāmī: one who does that which is unlawful; a fornicator.
- 327. kuttha: 'slaughtered'; the flesh of animals killed according to prescribed Muslim ritual.
- 328. nigure anipāhalīe nāl. This may specifically designate those who do not follow the Sikh Gurus and have not taken khande dī pāhul (see note 39); or it may refer in very general terms to all rascals and reprobates.
- 329. PSP omits this offence.
- 330. In these two items $pras\overline{a}d$ may possibly mean ordinary food.
- 331. Cf. section 430.
- 332. SRL omitted this offence.
- 333. bagal-bandhī jāmā. The Prem Sumārag insists that the style of jāmā worn by Sikhs should be agal-bandhī (fastened at the front) (PrS, p. 15). The ChS rahit-nama makes the same point by proscribing garments which are fastened at the side. The reason for the ban is presumably that side-fastening was identified as a Muslim style. Side-fastened garments were a regular style during Mughal times and appear frequently in the art of the period. See for example Bichitr's famous portrait 'Dara Shikoh with Sages in a Garden'.
- 334. $s\bar{u}h\bar{a}$ (Pothohari): red. Because it is a colour associated with women's clothing red is 'inappropriate for the manly' (GM, p. 805).
- 335. A small two-stringed instrument. For a picture of a dutārā see MK, plate facing p.135.
- 336. chaurī, 'chowrie', the whisk used by a reader to protect the Guru Granth Sahib.
- 337. topī-vālā: lit. 'one who wears a cap, hat, or helmet' but idiomatically used to designate a Mughal soldier or (later) a European. It is, however, possible that in both 384 and 385 topī-vālā should read simply 'Muslim'. Cf. topīan, note 58.
- 338. turak akhar, 'Turkish characters', i.e. Arabic. The placing of a book, inscribed paper, printed page, etc. on one's head signifies reverence for its contents.
- 339. gor marī. See note 173.
- 340. Although kallar normally means saline soil the word has also been used as a synonym for reh 'fossil alkali (used for washing and making soap)' (John T. Platts, A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English, London, 1884, pp. 842, 613).
- 341. This presumably refers to money given to a dharamsalia.
- 342. These two injunctions and the scriptural quotation have evidently been inserted at this

- point by mistake.
- 343. M4, Gaurī Pūrbī 4, AG p. 13.
- 344. SRL omitted this offence.
- 345. besavā dā tamāsā: 'the harlot's display'.
- 346. saravar (sarovar): a stretch of water. If used in a religious context it designates a sacred lake or pool where (in theory at least) lotuses grow. This ChS reference is presumably to places of Hindu pilgrimage.
- 347. māṛī makām: a building of impressive proportions. In the Punjab the term has been used to designate shrines dedicated to Gugga Pir, the legendary healer of snake-bites. MK, pp. 307, 725.
- 348. turak dī yāravī: the ceremony held on the eleventh day after a Muslim's death.
- 349. The names 'Singh' and 'Kaur', adopted by male and female members of the Khalsa, should not be omitted. If, for example, a man's name is Sher Singh he should be called Sher Singh, not Sher nor some other diminutive such as Shera or Sheru.
- 350. hukam-nāvīe: those who proclaim a decree (hukam-nāmā) of the Khalsa to all members of the Khalsa. In a more general sense the word could mean any who exercise authority.
- 351. The wording of this injunction leaves its precise meaning unclear: 'He who does not teach his son the Pothi Granth Sahib Ji is a tanakhāhīā.' It would be unreasonable to expect all eighteenth-century Sikh boys to become literate to the point where they could read the scriptures. The injunction may perhaps be intended for fathers who are themselves literate.
- 352. This injunction may refer to moral or doctrinal error. The context suggests, however, that it is to be construed literally as a prohibition of false travel directions.
- 353. ihu ant-orak kā bachan hai: 'This is the word of [the One who is] the end and limit [of all creation].'
- 354. M1, Var Mājh 12:2, AG p. 143.
- 355. BG XXXIV, 21.
- 356. It is possible that here, as in 288-296, prasād may mean karāh prasād. Whatever the intended meaning of prasād may be there can be no mistaking the general purport of the prohibition. It clearly implies a differential ranking of Kes-dhari and Sahaj-dhari, the former perceived as superior to the latter. 'Kes-dhari' is presumably used here as a synonym for 'Amrit-dhari'.
- 357. M4, Sārang Dupadā 7, AG p.1200. The brief shabad which opens with this couplet is traditionally believed to have been addressed by Guru Ram Das to the disappointed Prithi Chand following the announcement that the succession would pass to the younger son Arjan. Sabadārath, p. 1200n. See notes 25, 285.
- 358. Prahlad was the virtuous son of the demon-king Hiranyakasipu. It was to protect Prahlad from his evil father that Vishnu appeared as the Man-Lion Avatar (Narasimha) and killed Hiranyakasipu.

- 359. A portion of Guru Amar Das's Rāmakalī Anand (AG pp. 917-22) commands a particular prominence in Sikh ritual and liturgy. This portion, which comprises the first five stanzas and the last, is a part of Sodar Rahirās, the evening liturgy. See note 18. It is also recited before commencing a reading of the complete Adi Granth and again at its conclusion (both sādhāran pāth and akhanḍ pāth); prior to the distribution of karah prasad; at the conclusion of the orders of service for child-naming and marriage; during the brief post-cremation ritual; and as a part of the Khalsa initiation ceremony (SRM, pp.19-20, 20-21, 25, 28, 30, 34). The hymn is generally known as Anand Sāhib. For its place in the marriage service see note 40. For a translation see TSSS, pp. 100-101.
- 360. Cf. section 376.
- 361. SRL omitted this offence.
- 362. bhādanī. See note 108.
- 363. Karah prasad comprises equal parts of āṭā, ghī, and sugar. See note 75. These ingredients must be weighed before mixing. After the karah prasad has been prepared it must not be placed on scales.
- 364. M5, Sārang 13, AG p. 1226.
- 365. bikhiā, poison. See note 109.
- 366. Suchanand was a functionary (peśakār) in the retinue of Vazir Khan, the subahdar of Sarhind who led the attack on Guru Gobind Singh in 1704. Following the evacuation of Anandpur the Guru's mother and his two younger sons, Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh, were treacherously delivered into the hands of Vazir Khan. Suchanand urged his master to execute the two children on the grounds that they were 'the offspring of a snake'. Vazir Khan eventually accepted the advice and the dominant tradition reports that they were bricked into a wall. In 1710 Banda Bahadur wrought vengeance on the city of Sarhind and on the vile Suchanand. In place of suchā (true, faithful) the Sikhs substituted jhūthā (false) and referred to him thereafter as Jhuthanand (MK, p.158. Macauliffe v. 168 ff. 195-198).
- 367. In place of sāhī khatrī the PSP version has chandūšāhī khatrī (PSP, p. 101). See note 284.
- 368. Cf. section 80.
- 369. PSP omits this offence.
- 370. SRL omitted this offence.
- 371. SRL omitted this offence.
- 372. hākam (ḥākim): one who exercises judiciał authority; magistrate; governor.
- 373. Dharamraj or (as in this reference) Dharamrai is the title applied to Yam, the god of the dead, in his role as divine arbiter of the fate of each individual. Strictly speaking the task of recording an individual's good and bad deeds is not his. It is performed by his subordinate Chitra-gupta.
- 374. Actions which dirty or defile must always be performed with the left hand. The right hand must be kept unpolluted for actions which require purity (particularly eating).

- 375. This prohibition may be aimed at debtors who try to evade their creditors.
- 376. SRL omitted this offence.
- 377. Section 470 has evidently been misplaced. It should probably follow 461.
- 378. The basic creed of Islam ('There is no god but God...').
- 379. Hair which has become bunched or tangled in the process of washing or wringing should be loosened and separated either by shaking the head or by a careful unravelling with the fingers. The prohibition is evidently directed against the kind of vigorous hand action which would imply disrespect to the kes.
- 380. śahīd gañj: a place sanctified by a martyr's death.
- 381. jal de kandhe par : at water's edge.
- 382. pag. In this context pag may perhaps designate a kesakī, the light turban which is commonly worn in bed at night or, during the day, underneath the larger standard turban.
- 383. sūradās. Surdas, the celebrated sixteenth-century author of the Sūr Sāgar, was blind. His name has accordingly been used as a synonym for 'blind person'. MK, p. 169.
- 384. Cf. sections 335, 391. The *PSP* version of this item proscribes the consuming of sheep's curds, not their application to hair. *PSP* p.103.
- 385. Farid, Salok 130 (line 2), AG p. 1384.
- 386. bikārā[n]. The five evil impulses are kām (lust), krodh (anger, wrath), lobh (covetousness), moh (attachment to worldly things), and hahkār (pride). GNSR, pp.184-5
- 387. Source not identified. Not in AG or DG.
- 388. katīrā: a gum resembling tragacanth obtained from the bark of the Sterculia urens. J. T. Platts, op. cit., p. 813.
- 389. mahadī, menhedī: the Broad Egyptian Privet. The leaves are powdered, beaten together with catechu, and made into a reddish-orange paste for staining hands and beards. Ibid., pp. 1108-9.
- 390. PSP omits this offence.
- 391. granth sāhib jī athavā pothī. The word athavā has been construed as the adverb meaning 'that is to say'. This gives the translation: 'the Granth Sahib or, in other words, the [sacred] volume.' If it is construed as the conjunction meaning 'or' the translation will read 'the Granth Sahib or [any other sacred] volume', the latter presumably a reference to a janam-sakhi. Normally, however, pothī means for the ChS compiler the Granth Sahib (the Adi Granth) and this is the meaning which it bears in the preceding section.
- 392. At this point *PSP* interpolates a brief narrative passage which describes how one of the Gurus rejected a complaint lodged against his ragis by one of his Sikhs. The Guru is not named. *PSP*, p. 104.
- 393. The GNDU/SRL text for this section is brief and cryptic. The PSP text, however, specifies Brahmans and makes the meaning of the prohibition clear. PSP, p. 105.

- 394. See note 38. This section and the next are not expressed as tanakhāhīā offences and are presumably misplaced.
- 395. Fire is sacred and must be treated with reverence. These two proscribed methods of extinguishing fire both imply disrespect. Cf. also 543. Blowing out a flame is presumably regarded as disrespectful because it may spray spittle. Cf. 562. For the same reason some Sikhs still cover their mouths when reading the Adi Granth.
- 396. Whereas the GNDU/SRL text plainly forbids the administering of khaṇḍe dī pāhul (sword-baptism) to a woman the later PSP analogue reverses the meaning by inserting the negative adverb na before the verb (PSP, p. 105). The PSP version presumably represents a deliberate gloss, one which reflects the understanding of a later period. This possibility is considerably strengthened by a similar disagreement concerning the Sikh's duty to the rising sun (GNDU/SRL section 516; PSP, p. 106). In this latter instance it is the PSP version which omits the negative adverb. Both offences concern practices which an 'enlightened' view might regard as 'superstitious'. The fact that in both cases the PSP reading represents 'enlightenment' as opposed to 'superstition' suggests the influence of a later view. For khande dī pāhul see note 39.
- 397. Kabir, Gond 11, AG p. 873.
- 398. Copies of the Adi Granth are nowadays supplied with marker ribbons attached. Because there is no possibility of removal these ribbons are in no danger of pollution.
- 399. He should say hare karane, not sukāve. Kahn Singh includes harā karanā ('to wash, cleanse, make dry') in his 'Glossary of Khalsa usage'. GM, p. 351.
- 400. The objection to using disrespectful language with reference to a slate is presumably because the slate will have been used for recording Gurmukhi letters. The longer PSP version adds that mukāvanī (mukāvanā, to complete) should be used in preference to sukāvanī (PSP, p. 105). SRL omitted this offence.
- 401. Jāp 184, DG p. 10. The precise nature of the injunction is not clear. The writer presumably regards the sun as a visible representation of Akal Purakh. Cf. 151-152, 550. The PSP text omits the negative adverb, thus reversing the meaning. See note 396.
- 402. SRL omitted this offence.
- 403. PSP omits this offence.
- 404. dārī-vālā: 'a bearded [Sikh]'.
- 405. kes dikhāe: lit.'show [his] kes', but idiomatically the expression for having lice extracted.
- 406. PSP: sotā vatā, 'either stick or stone'.
- 407. PSP omits this offence.
- 408. SRL omitted this offence.
- 409. SRL omitted this offence.
- 410. SRL omitted this offence.
- 411. PSP omits this offence.

- 412. jo satigurū ke kite upar bākī kaḍhe: 'He who demands a balance from the Satiguru'. If, for example, a Sikh who has asked for two sons receives only one he must not complain.
- 413. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 16(7) and 23(5), AG pp. 284, 294.
- 414. M1, Surplus Shaloks 33, AG p. 1412.
- 415. lampat, normally 'lecher' or 'libertine'. The context in which it is subsequently used in section 546 indicates, however, that the secondary meaning of 'false' or 'lying' is the sense in which the ChS compiler uses the word.
- 416. This section, evidently inserted at this point by mistake, belongs to a later part of the rahit-nama. See section 569. In the text the preceding item concerning Sikhs caught in rain is incorporated in 536 and this erratic section is numbered 537. It seems clear, however, that the number 537 was originally attached to the preceding item.
- 417. sīranī: sweets offered at a place such as a pir's shrine, viz. Muslim offerings.
- 418. pāṇī jūṭhā: water which has been contaminated by use, particularly water left over after drinking.
- 419. bemarijādā. The term marijādā (marayādā) implies a lower level of obligation than rahit.
- 420. M1, Vär Āsā 12, AG p. 470. See section 117,
- 421. M1, Asā 36, AG p. 355. See section 118.
- 422. kurahatīe: one who flagrantly violates the Rahit.
- 423. See section 6. SRL omitted this offence.
- 424. M1, Āsā Kāfī Aṣṭ 13(1), AG p. 418.
- 425. M1, Dhanāsarī 2, AG p. 660.
- 426. Water and the sun are life-giving manifestations of God and are therefore (like fire) divine. The practice of casting water towards the sun is not proscribed, merely the performing of the rite while naked. See also note 401.
- 427. PSP omits the latter portion of this injunction.
- 428. sithanī: an abusive song, usually one sung at a wedding by the bride's relatives and directed against close relatives of the groom.
- 429. She should visit the dharamsala morning and evening.
- 430. rumāl: the cloth in which a copy of the Granth Sahib is wrapped. chādar: a larger sheet which may be used on beds, as seating, or for protective purposes.
- 431. M4, Gaurī Guārerī 41 (1), AG p. 164.
- 432. siāpā: the mourning ceremony during which women express grief by weeping, wailing, and tearing of clothes.
- 433. See notes 24, 25.

- 434. bhājī: sweets and other gifts bestowed as a token of friendship.
- 435. See 87 and note 118.
- 436, pati-brat: a wife's sacred duty to her husband.
- 437. Kabir, Bhairau 9(1), AG p. 1159. Kabīr-granthāvalī 348.
- 438. In the course of this brief enunciation of the doctrine of the corporate Guru the writer uses the word sarabat (entire) to define the corporate context within which the presence of the Guru is to be mystically discerned or assumed. Although the word sarabat has always been used with reference to this doctrine (characteristically in conjunction with the term khālsā) its precise meaning in this context is very difficult to determine. The following options can be regarded as theoretical possibilities:
 - i. The entire adult Sikh population of a particular area.
 - ii. The entire male adult Sikh population of a particular area.
 - iii. The adult Sikh males belonging to the dominant caste or castes of a particular area.
 - iv. Some form of selective representation.

The fourth option seems unlikely. Although it eventually emerged as a means of linking dispersed jathas during the misl period there is no evidence that it was the meaning intended by the *ChS* compiler. A strong possibility is that the first option was affirmed in theory, but that the second or third was normally followed in practice. There is, however, no reason why a woman of sufficient status and forthright vigour should not participate in the deliberations of a local sangat. The injunctions which *ChS* lays upon the Gursikhni indicate that there would normally be considerable inhibition but none of these suggests an explicit ban on such participation.

- 439. pūran purakh: Guru Gobind Singh.
- 440. Promiscuous intercourse between members of different castes is a feature of ultimate corruption, and social chaos must inevitably result.
- 441. kīkan: 'The name of the tribe remarkable for nakedness and looking starved, ugly, stunted and miserable; met. a poor man.' (Maya Singh, The Panjabi Dictionary, Lahore, 1895, p. 612).*
- 442. sakat (saqit): fallen, vile, depraved.
- 443. See notes 24, 25.
- 444. pañj pīrīā[n]: 'The five pirs'. According to MK, p. 591, the five pirs are Sakhi Sultan, Miran, Gugga, Bibari, and Sitala. In Varis Shah's Hīr they are identified as the legendary Khwaja Khizr and the four great Sufi pirs of Punjab and Sind, viz. Farid Shakarganj of Pakpattan, Baha al-Din Zakariya of Multan, Jalal al-Din, 'Makhdum Jahaniyan' of Uch, and Lal Shahbaz Qalandhar of Sehwan (C. Shackle, 'Transition and transformation in Varis Shah's Hīr', unpub. Indian Narrative Seminar paper, SOAS London, 29.10.85).
- 445. M1, Surplus Shaloks 12, AG p. 1411.
- 446. supach (svapach): an 'eater of dogs'; a person of the most inferior, degraded status; a chandal.
- 447. This quotation is a conflation of two extracts from Guru Gobind Singh's Bachitra Nāṭak.

- Line 2 is taken from 6:29 and the three remaining lines from 6:42 (DG, p. 57).
- 448. This anecdote may be intended as another thrust directed at Khatris. Rai Singh, named as a Khatri, is pointedly described as one who is best kept out of the way when there is fighting to be done. Tumultuous times have come and Sikhs such as Rai Singh must therefore be packed off to their homes where they will cause no hindrance. Others, however, must be prevented from going to their homes. These are the warrior Sikhs, those who obey orders without questioning them. In time of tumult they are at their militant best, whereas extended periods at home serve only to enfeeble them. The reference in this latter case is presumably to the Jat followers of the Guru. The PSP version does not specifically identify Rai Singh as a Khatri.
- 449. A herald or crier; an assistant with special responsibility for issuing proclamations.
- 450. The ChS compiler's debt to his Chhibbar source is particularly evident in this section. It emerges first in his pointed use of raulā (tumult), a word which epitomises for Kesar Singh Chhibbar the period during which the Bansāvali-nāmā was written (S.1826, 1769 A.C.). The ChS reference to raulā is soon followed by raule de sikh, the term which for Kesar Singh Chhibbar typically describes the kind of irresponsible self-seeker who had assumed leadership in the Khalsa. The two terms thus serve to summarise a particularly jaundiced view of the Khalsa and its leaders during the period c.1760. The vicious raule de sikh were incompetent and their behaviour was threatening to destroy sikhī (another key term in the Chhibbar tradition). In this time of trial the one comfort is the assurance that it has all been foreseen by the omniscient Guru and is in fact a part of his ultimate plan. It was a view which was to find expression in section 14 of the Bansāvali-nāmā and is here set forth in ChS a few years earlier. The common terminology used by the two works testifies unmistakably to a common source tradition.

The sharing of concepts and terminology is also to be found in the ChS references to murīd, maīkī panth, and mukati (575-578). Section 10 of the Bansāvali-nāmā claims that Guru Gobind Singh issued a proclamation dividing the Panth into four categories, three of them virtuous and one sinful. Whereas the murīd (Loyal Sikhs) and mukate (Enlightened Sikhs) are two of the virtuous categories, the maīkī (Rapacious Sikhs) constitute the sinful reprobate group. This pronouncement the Guru is said to have delivered to his uncle Kirpal (loc. cit. 10: 138-47). The maīkī are subsequently identified with the raule de sikh (ibid. 14: 116, 287). See sections 224-27, 574, and Introduction, pp.45-47.

- 451. Kirpal Chand (later known as Kirpal Singh) was the brother of the Guru's mother Mata Gujari. Together with Sahib Chand he receives honourable mention in *Bachitra Nāṭak* 8: 9-10 for bravery during the Battle of Bhangani (1688). See note 226. For Sahib Chand and Dharam Chand see Introduction p.17.
- 452. Piara Singh Padam identifies the brothers Darbari and Gharbari Mal as descendants of Guru Amar Das and scribes in the entourage of Guru Gobind Singh. Both were killed at the Battle of Muktsar (1705), together with their father Khushal Singh (idem, Srī Gurū Gobind Singh jī de darabārī ratan, Patiala, 1976, p. 254).
- 453. Identified by Piara Singh Padam as a munshi of Guru Gobind Singh (ibid., p. 256).
- 454. chhinvai di puri. Translation uncertain. Cf. B40 (Eng), p. 129, n.566.
- 455. Parasu-rama ('Rama with the axe'), the sixth avatār of Vishnu, took birth as a Brahman at the beginning of the Treta-yuga in order to rid the world of the tyrannous rule of the Ksatriyas (Khatris). The evil Ksatriya king Kartavirya (or Sahansarbahu, 'the Thousand-armed'), having been entertained hospitably at the residence of Parasu-rama's father Jamadagni, stole a calf as he departed. Parasu-rama pursued him, cut off his

- thousand arms, and despatched him. When Kartavirya's sons responded by killing Jamadagni, Parasu-rama swore a terrible vengeance against all Ksatriyas and proceeded to destroy all Ksatriya males twenty-one times in succession (John Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, &c, London, 1961, pp. 230-231. MK, pp. 103, 210).
- 456. See section 173.
- 457. chāche tāiā[h] pās. Strictly speaking a chāchā is the younger brother of one's father and a taia his older brother. It is, however, clear that the reference is to Sati Das and Mati Das, the two nephews (bhatīje) of Daragah Mal. See Introduction, p.16.
- 458. GNDU, SRL, and PSP all include at this point a reference to the masands which seems plainly to have been recorded out of context: 'The masands had to be destroyed because they had become corrupt.' The sentence should perhaps have been included in 590.
- 459. charan kavalā[n] pās kharotā sī, lit. 'standing near the lotus feet', in the blessed presence of the Guru.
- 460. achal-matī ahiran-budhī. This evidently derives from aharan-mati, 'the anvil of reason', an expression used in Japjī 38, AG p.8.
- 461. In place of the brief reference to Sikhs who will achieve martyrdom fighting the Muslim oppressors (turakān) the PSP text provides a lengthy extension of the reference to the vicious unruly Sikhs (raule de sikh). Specific mention is made of one called Ram Singh, a steward (mevarā) employed by Guru Gobind Singh who was guilty of disloyalty to his Master (PSP, pp. 113-15).
- 462. Following the evacuation of Anandpur and the Battle of Chamkaur in December 1704 Guru Gobind Singh travelled west-south-west from Machhiwara through modern Ludhiana District to the village of Dina in the southern portion of Moga tahsil (Firozpur District). Having there written his celebrated Zafar-nāmā and despatched it to the Emperor Aurangzeb he moved on to Khidrana (modern Muktsar) where the Battle of Khidrana took place in May 1705. From Khidrana he turned south-east and entered the dry, sandy tract known to Sikh tradition as the Lakhi Jungle (MK, p. 791). When he reached the village of Talvandi Sabo, twenty-five kilometres south-east of Bhatinda, he was welcomed by the local magnate, a Brar Jat called Dalla. There the Guru rested at the spot subsequently known as Damdama Sahib. He remained at Talvandi Sabo for nine months before moving on to Rajasthan, Delhi, and eventually the Deccan (MK, pp. 418-465).
- 463. The annual gathering or fair (melā) held to mark the full moon of the month of Magh (January-February).
- 464. Ajit Singh and Jujhar Singh were killed in the Battle of Chamkaur, shortly after Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh were executed at the command of Vazir Khan, Subahdar of Sirhind. See note 366.
- 465. mañji: the authority of the masands.
- 466. Durga,
- 467. bandā, lit. 'slave' and colloquially 'person'. The word is plainly a pun referring to Banda Bahadur, the Sikh leader during the uprising against Mughal authority in the Punjab 1709-15.
- 468. āpane dāuno lāvāngā: '[Through him] I shall bring them to my hem.'

- 469. ik bandā sādh hosī. PSP version: bandā ik sādh hosī (p.115). The reference points explicitly to Banda Bahadur, but the word actually used retains its dual meaning of 'slave' or 'person' on the one hand, and the specific individual Banda on the other. The sentence might well be translated: 'Banda, he who will come to lead the Panth, is a sadhu.'
- 470. Banda.
- 471. gose galā[n]: 'things whispered in the air' (Pers. gos).
- 472. Cf. section 166.
- 473. In this prophecy reference is made to all four of the categories of Sikhs enunciated in the Chhibbar tradition. See 224-27 and Introduction, p.46.
- 474. Translation doubtful. If in fact *tīrath* does mean 'Divine One' it must refer to the Kalkin Avatar. See 624-25.
- 475. M1, Vār Āsā 20:2, AG p.473.
- 476. This prophecy is obscure. The reference to a 'celibate ascetic' who will follow the renunciant life-style for seven years and three months seems plainly to designate Banda. On the other hand, the introductory words suggest that the context is still the turnult of the writer's own period, almost half a century later.
- 477. SRL, f.83a, added: 'and the sacred code (dharam mrijādā) shall be observed.'
- 478. See 158 and Introduction, p.17.
- 479. M1, Vār Malār 23:2, AG p. 1288.
- 480. M5, Vār Jaitasarī 10:1, AG p. 708.
- 481. Ibid.
- 482. Kabir, Sorath 9, AG p. 656.
- 483. M1, Tilang 5, AG p. 722.
- 484. *PSP*: 'True King, you have said that you are present when all [your people assemble], that the Khalsa is yours and the Khalsa is your Guru.' (*PSP*, p. 117).
- 485. See section 209 ff.
- 486. derā: camp, dwelling-place; the Guru's residence and associated buildings.
- 487. M3, Vār Mārū 9, AG p. 1089.
- 488. M5, Sūhī 41, AG p. 745.
- 489. M4, Var Sorath 16, AG p. 648.
- 490. December/January.
- 491. This should presumably read Kirpal Singh, or perhaps Kirpal Chand. As the narrative proceeds it becomes clear that 'Mamaji' has been summoned into the Guru's presence to

- act as amanuensis. 'Mamaji' invariably designates the Guru's maternal uncle Kirpal Singh, alias Kirpal Chand. See note 451.
- 492. A tributary of the Ganga which flows past Mount Kedarnath in the Himalayas (MK, p.751).
- 493. The text includes the word talā which in this context means the flat land adjacent to a mountain and thus indicates that Mailagar is to be understood as the name of a mountain. Mount Mailagar (or Malayagiri) is, however, in South India. See note 533.
- 494. According to the B40 Janam-sākhī Guru Nanak received notification of his impending death in the form of a pinch of ashes delivered by two mysterious yogis (B40 (Eng), pp.230-31). Cf. also the Purātan janam-sakhi tradition of a pre-death exchange of shaloks between Guru Nanak and Makhdum Bahauddin (Shaikh Baha' al-Din Zakariyya) (GNSR, p. 50).
- 495. upadrav: a natural disaster which is interpreted as a portent.
- 496. sankar: unlawful mixing of castes; a degraded caste resulting from the union of a man with a woman of higher caste or from promiscuous cohabitation.
- 497. This couplet appears to be a garbled verion of one (or more than one) of the several references to sankar baran which appear in the Nihakalankī Avatār section of the Dasam Granth. The most likely originals could be either or both of the following:

sankar baran prajā sabh hoī chhatrī jagat na dekhīai koī

- Loc. cit. 10:1, DG p. 572

chhatrī brāhaman rahā na koī sankar baran prajā sabh hoī

- Ibid. 15:4, DG p. 572

See also 4:1, 115:1, and 116:1 (DG pp. 571, 579).

- 498. M1, Vār Mājh 16:1, AG p. 145.
- 499. M1, Surplus Shaloks 15, AG p. 1411. A variant version of this shalok appears as M1, Var Sarang 22:2, AG pp. 1245-46.
- 500. Ibid.
- 501. Ibid.
- 502. The writer calls the reprobates raule de sikh at this point. As Kesar Singh Chhibbar makes clear, the terms raule de sikh and māikī panth are synonymous (B-n 14:116).
- 503. Bachitra Nāṭak 6:56, DG p. 58.
- 504. M1, Surplus Shaloks 22, AG p. 1412.
- 505. M1, Vār Mājh 7:2, AG p. 141.
- 506. M1, Vār Sūhī 13:2, AG p. 789.
- 507. Kabir, Gaurī Chetī 44, AG p. 332.
- 508. M1, Rāmakalī Ast 1 (3), AG p. 902.

- 509. The cardinal sins enunciated by the writer are those of Brahmanical Hindu tradition, not the kurahit of the Khalsa discipline. This is consistent with the Puranic beliefs which he now begins to expound. It is, however, clear that his interest in the Kalkin Avatar derives from the Dasam Granth rather than directly from a Puranic source. In presenting this material he continues to provide an analogue to the tenth section of the Bansāvali-nāmā.
- 510. The translation of this sentence assumes that the word sekh means 'remaining'. It can, however, be read as sekh, 'the offspring of a degraded Brahman'. Cf. notes 496, 497. If the latter were to be correct the translation could read: 'The Kaliyuga will hold sway and for 835 years the dominance of the bastard Brahmans will endure. Then shall the Satiyuga dawn.'
- 511. The last of the incarnations of Vishnu and the only one which is still to come. According to Puranic tradition the appearance of Kalkin, riding on his white horse, will terminate the Kaliyuga and usher in the commencement of a new Satiyuga (Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology, Berkeley, 1976, p.200; Basham, The Wonder that was India, London, 1954, pp. 307, 321). In the Dasam Granth retelling of the Vishnu avatars (the Chaubīs Avatār, DG pp. 155-709) the Kalkin Avatar receives lengthy treatment, surpassed in this respect by only the Krishna and Ram narratives. For a summary of the Dasam Granth treatment see Dharam Pal Ashta, The Poetry of the Dasam Granth, New Delhi, 1959, pp. 71-72. In the Dasam Granth version Kalkin is also called Nihakalank, 'the Spotless One' (MK, p. 256).
- 512. Nihakalankī Avatār 141, DG p. 581. SRL (f. 91a) quoted only four words. GNDU (f. 155b) and the Bansāvali-nāmā analogue supply the longer quotation (B-n 10:660-61).
- 513. dev-purī: Vaikunth, the heaven of Vishnu.
- 514. According to Puranic cosmogony the length of a Satiyuga (or Krta-yuga) was set at 4,800 'years of the gods' and each 'year of the gods' was held to span 360 human years. 4,800 x 360 = 1,728,000, as given by the text.
- 515. Apart from the introductory reference to the four yugas the *PSP* text omits the cosmogonic schema and description of the Tenth Master presented by the *GNDU/SRL* text in 629-638 (*PSP*, p. 121).
- 516. The correct total is 4,320,000. The full cycle constitutes a mahāyuga.
- 517. M10, Akāl Ustat 6:76, DG p. 18.
- 518. Fourteen days, viz. fourteen periods of daylight plus fourteen nights. The Puranic figure is fourteen.
- 519. Twenty-four minutes.
- 520. According to the Puranic pattern Vishnu assumes the form of Rudra the Destroyer at the conclusion of the entire cycle and proceeds to consume the entire universe.
- 521. Ishvar, viz. Shiv.
- 522. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 16 (2), AG p. 284. For Kesar Singh Chhibbar's version of this passage concerning the four yugas, the Kalkin Avatar, and the definition of a kalap see B-n 10:636-61. In the Bansāvalī-nāmā the cosmogonic details come first (10:636-43). These are followed by an exhortation to remain faithful to the Guru, and then by the description of the yugas with its climax in the appearance of Kalki (10:649-61). The two versions manifest the usual range of similarity and difference which characterises the

- connection between the *Bansāvalī-nāmā* and portions of the *ChS* narrative. Although there are differences of order and of detail there are points at which the two versions clearly correspond. There can be no doubt that they derive from a common source.
- 523. M10, Jāp 1:1, DG p.1. The point of the quotation is that God is in no way bounded by human limitations.
- 524. The vestigial nipples on the male chest.
- 525. M1, Vadahans 3, AG p. 558.
- 526. M1, Asa Ast 15(7), AG p. 419.
- 527. ate dasakhat bulākā singh likhārī de. In SRL the scribe's name was spelt Balaka Singh. According to the Bansāvalī-nāmā version the scribe who recorded the first copy of the rahit-nama was Sital Singh Baharupia. An unnamed Shudra Sikh then made a second copy (B-n 10:526).
- 528. Gurbakhsh Singh was the father of Kesar Singh Chhibbar. See Introduction, p.16. It is not entirely clear from the text what Gurbakhsh Singh had recorded, for the reference to him merely states gurabakhsah singh likhāiā hai. The claim that Guru Gobind Singh commissioned the first recording of the rahit-nama is clearly stated. It presumably follows that Gurbakhsh Singh subsequently had a second copy made. The English translation reflects this assumption.
- 529. M1, Asā Asi 12(3), AG p. 417.
- 530. The *PSP* text concludes at this point.
- 531. M5, Vār Mārū 7, AG p. 1096.
- 532. bāvan, viz. bāvan chandan, the dwarf sandal-tree. The standard text reads chandan. The point of this particular line is that just as the sterile simmal-tree can acquire the fragrance of sandal-wood by growing in the vicinity of a sandal-tree (chandan), so in like manner can an ordinary sinner absorb piety by associating with pious company. The image is a common one in Sant literature, though normally the chandan represents the satsang. In this kabit it signifies the Guru.
- 533. milagār. Mailagar (or Malayagiri) is the region in South India famed for its sandal-trees.
- 534. Bhai Gurdas, Kabitt 503. For the standard text, with Punjabi paraphrase, see Giani Bishan Singh (ed.), Kabitt savayye tīka Bhāī Guradās jī (Amritsar, 4th ed., 1952).
- 535. M5, Bāvan Akharī 52:1, AG p. 261.
- 536. Although the name is an unusual one GNDU, SRL and KhC all agree on the spelling.
- 537. M10, Bachitra Nāṭak 13:11, DG p. 71.
- 538. Nihakalankī Avatār 68, DG p. 575.
- 539. Pakhayān Charitra 405:396, DG p. 1387.
- 540. See Introduction, p.30.
- 541. pandit padhe mie mahant. 'Mian' is a title of respect used for eminent Muslims. See note

- 559. The title 'Mahant' presumably refers to the superiors of Nath establishments.
- 542. The first shaving of a child's head; the shaving of the head following the death of a close relative.
- 543. tarapan: lit. 'satisfaction'; the Hindu ceremony of casting or sprinkling water as an offering to gods or deceased forbears.
- 544. nangī bodī: 'with tuft of hair uncovered.' The meaning is presumably that Sikhs should never defer to Brahmans nor take instruction from them.
- 545. nasavār: snuff, normally made from tobacco.
- 546. The outcasted offspring of a union between a Shudra father and a Brahman mother; a member of the outcaste group supposed to descend from such antecedents; any vile, mean, viciously immoral person.
- 547. ekādaśī (Pbi. ikādasī): the eleventh day of each half of the lunar month. For Vaishnavas the consumption of grains is prohibited on this day. Only fruit, vegetables and milk are permitted.
- 548. M4, Nat Nārāin Ast 4(5) AG p. 982. See note 561.
- 549. gurū ke prasādi. This presumably means karah prasad. See note 302.
- 550. See note 359.
- 551. See note 12.
- 552. $ar\ pitr\ n\bar{u}[\dot{n}]\ bh\bar{u}\ pahuch\bar{a}$. The ceremonies performed by Gursikhs constitute an effective $\dot{s}r\bar{a}dh$. For $\dot{s}r\bar{a}dh$ see note 81. It is possible that the reference to forbears has been included at this point by mistake. The same words have been added to the description of the $\dot{s}r\bar{a}dh$ which appears in GNDU on folio 203a, SRL folio 101a.
- 553. Probably karah prasad, but possibly ordinary food.
- 554. gota khānā: to be immersed; to struggle to save oneself from drowning.
- 555. doi gharīān, two gharīs. A gharī is the equivalent of twenty-four minutes, which means that a strictly accurate translation would read: 'Forty-eight minutes before the close of day' (viz. before the conclusion of the fourth watch of the day). The actual reading should thus begin shortly after 5 p.m.
- 556. See note 18.
- 557. chhatī amrit karike prasādi: 'food containing the thirty-six flavours' (MK, p. 363).
- 558. Source not identified. Not in AG or DG.
- 559. mīe brāhaman. The connotation of mīe (sing. mīān) is not clear. The word mīān may be used as a noun meaning 'teacher', and it may also be used adjectivally or as a form of address to mean 'respected'. In this latter usage it was characteristically applied to Muslims in the Punjab and 'Muslim teacher' is thus a possible translation. It is, however, more likely that it is to be read as an ironic title for the execrated Brahmans.
- 560. Source not identified. Not in AG or DG.

- 561. M4, Nat Nārāin Ast 4 (5), AG p. 982. Cf. note 548.
- 562. dhīā[n] bhain: 'daughters [or] sisters'.
- 563. athit $\bar{a}[\dot{n}]$ (athit \bar{i} or atith \bar{i}): guests, visitors.
- 564. bhagavā[i]: the reddish-yellow colouring used by many ascetics to dye their garments.
- 565. sākhī, 'testimony'. The writer has used a formula appropriate to the terminating of a janam-sakhi.
- 566. The PSP text terminates at this point.
- 567. Equivalent to Friday, 5 April 1765.

APPENDIX

PSP introductory prologue

The eternal and supreme Guru has declared, The gathered community (sarabati sangati) is my Khalsa. All should observe the Guru's Rahit.' [The injunctions of the Rahit were recorded] by Enlightened Sikhs (mukate sikh) in the presence of the eternal and supreme Master. These devout Sikhs studiously compiled a rahit-nama so that Gursikhs might act as the Guru has prescribed. The Sikh Rahit is as follows: Pay heed to neither Brahma [the God of the Hindus] nor to Muhammad [the Prophet of the Muslims]. Obey only the commands of your own Gurus. If help be needed the Gurus will furnish it [to those who accept] their testimony recorded in the Granth.

I praise and adore my Guru a hundred times a day, he who lifts men to the ranks of the gods,

swiftly, without delay.²
The Satguru will sustain [the Gursikh] both in this world and the next. The Gursikh should

therefore obey the Rahit.

The Sikh who comes to the sangat seeking knowledge [of the Guru] and there approaches Enlightened Sikhs should receive from them an exposition of the Sikh way. Any ordinary Sikh who approaches the members of his local [sangat] should depart bearing a belief in the Rahit. Many Sikhs have strayed into error, still believing that men are divided by caste distinctions. If any Sikh should be thus deluded Enlightened Singhs should make it clear to him that each Sikh must associate with his fellow Sikhs. He should not view anyone as a Khatri, a Shudra or a Vaishya. Ignoring all distinctions of caste he should see only a Gursikh.

He should, moreover, renounce the sacred thread, the frontal mark, the dhoti and Hindu rituals. Instead he should read the sacred scripture (sabad) and if he is to arrange a marriage he should never summon Brahmans. Let him [on such occasions] read the Anand [Sāhib hymn]. He should also avoid the company of Muslim officials and he should never seek their favour.

Much [oral] instruction of this kind had been given [when eventually] some Sikhs employed in Guru [Gobind Singh's] administration were approached by other Sikhs [seeking clarification]. 'The Enlightened Sikhs deliver homilies,' they said, 'and they do so in accordance with the Guru's teachings. [But we need more than this.]' Some helpful Sikhs from amongst those who received this enquiry went to the Enlightened Sikhs and asked them what they were actually teaching. 'Only the Satguru understands the situation as far as his Sikhs are concerned,' they replied. 'He has made it clear that his Panth has been set apart and that the Rahit which he has promulgated is likewise distinct [from the conventions observed by Hindus and Muslims].'

'What you say is correct,' said their enquirers, 'but you should communicate the Guru's words [with authority] so that all believe them. If they do not plainly bear the Master's authority the Sikhs will not accept them. Lay a petition before the Master, [asking that his commands be delivered in a manner which] all his Sikhs will understand and obey.'

[In response to this request] the Enlightened Sikhs prepared a written version of the Rahit. 'Have it read before the Master,' said the enquirers. 'Whatever decree is then issued [by the Guru] will be authoritative.' 'We shall so do when we perceive an appropriate opportunity,' replied the Enlightened Sikhs. 'And we shall have it read to the assembled Sikhs,' said the enquirers. 'The Master has command over the conscience of all [his followers] and whatever he approves will be accepted.'

The Sikhs acting as intermediaries took [this answer back to those who had asked them for assistance]. When a favourable opportunity appeared the petition was presented [to the Guru] and the draft read [before him]. It was to uphold dharma that I created the Panth,' said the Guru, 'It must not be corrupted [by caste distinctions]. As the Granth [Sahib] says:

All peoples have merged in a single caste and dharma has been overthrown.³
'The four castes are one [within the Panth],' he declared. 'All become one as a result of their common relationship to the Guru. Here there can be no distinctions:

The Enlightened are the breath of my body. Obey [my command] and win acceptance.4

[The Guru then turned] to the Enlightened Sikhs and, with reference to the Rahit, instructed them as follows: 'Brothers, compile a Sikh rahit-[nama] in accordance with the testimony provided by the Granth Sahib.' 'We are but ordinary people,' they answered. 'You are the Master. How can we know what is in your heart?' 'I shall inspire and direct your words,' the Guru assured them. Write in accordance with the dictates of wisdom and the testimony of the Granth [Sahib].'

With awe and trepidation the Enlightened Sikhs prepared a rahit-[nama], using the Granth Sahib as they did so. Having completed it in seven days they took it to the Guru who commanded that it be read to him. They began to read [and had completed only a part of the document when] he declared, 'It has been well done!' It required only a small portion to win his approval. [When this was given] the Singhs [who had been entrusted with the task] reverently prostrated themselves [before him].

This took place on the seventh day of [the month of] Jeth, S. 1757. If any copy be made.' announced the Guru, 'it must be presented for approval. This rahit-nama is the official version.⁶ No Sikh should adulterate it with prescriptions observed by others. He should act according to this code of conduct alone, for this one has been compiled by true Sikhs. Let this command be obeyed.'

- *PSP*, pp. 68-70.

Footnotes to Appendix

- 1. See introduction, p.46.
- 2. M1, Vār Āsā 1:1, AG p. 462.
- 3. M1, Dhanāsarī 8, AG p. 663.
- 4. Source not identified,
- 5. May-June 1700.
- 6. hazūrī, compiled in the presence of the Supreme Authority and bearing his imprimatur.

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Piara Singh Padam, Introduction to Rahit-name (Patiala, 1974), pp. 1-40 D (Punjabi).

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GLOSSARY

Many of the terms listed below have been defined at greater length in footnotes to the English translation. Numbers given in parentheses after individual entries indicate the footnotes (English translation) which should be consulted for extended definitions or examples of usage.

Akāl Purakh: God.

akhand pāth: continuous reading of the entire Adi Granth (79).

Aradās: Ardas, a set prayer used in Sikh rituals (12).

āvāgavan: transmigration.

avatār: 'descent'; incarnation, esp. of Vishnu.

bāṇī, gurabāṇī: works of the Gurus and Bhagats recorded in the Adi Granth (10).

Bhāī: Brother', title of reverence conferred on Sikhs of acknowledged

piety and/or learning (64).

bhog: pleasure, climax; conclusion of a complete reading of the Adi Granth

(79).

charan-āmrit: 'foot-nectar', the water used for the 'foot-initiation' charan dī pāhul

rite (39).

darabār, darbār: court; assembled retinue of an important dignitary.

dharam, dharma: the appropriate moral and religious obligations attached to any

particular status in Hindu society.

dharamasālā: room or building used for religious assemblies and worship (13,

135). Cf. guraduārā.

dharamasālīā: custodian of a dharamsala (60).

divān: dewan, minister of state, chief functionary, principal steward.

gayatri: verse from Rig-Veda recited (audibly or silently) morning and

evening by Brahmans.

got, gotra: exogamous caste grouping, sub-caste.

gurabilas: Gur-bilas, 'splendour of the Guru', works in praise of the Gurus

(esp. 18-19th century).

guraduārā: gurdwara, Sikh temple (135). Cf. dharamasālā.

guramantar: the mantra or sacred formula imparted to a neophyte at

initiation (118).

guramukh: Gurmukh; a faithful follower of the Guru, a loyal Sikh (7).

gurasikh: Gursikh; a Sikh of the Guru, a loyal Sikh (5).

gurasikhanī: Gursikhni; a loyal female Sikh.

hom: fire sacrifice to invoke the presence of the goddess Durga.

jāgīr: grant of land.

janam-sākhī: traditional narrative, biography (esp. of Guru Nanak), jathā: military detachment; group of Sikhs under discipline.

kabitt: a poetic metre.

kachh: breeches which must be worn by members of the Khalsa.

karā: steel bangle.

karāh prasād: sacramental food prepared in an iron vessel (75, 363).

kanghā: comb.

karma: destiny, fate of an individual, generated in accordance with the deeds

performed in his present and past existences.

kathā: religious homily; exposition of scriptures (19, 78).

kes: the hair of the head.

Kes-dhārī: a Sikh who observes the Rahit injunction to refrain from cutting

his/her hair (8). Cf. Sahaj-dhārī.

khandā: two-edged sword (39)

khidava: a servant appointed to supervise and entertain a small child.

kirapān: kirpan, sword, dagger.

kāratan: kirtan, the singing of devotional songs (19, 78).

mahant: superior of a monastery or other religious institution (65).

malechh: polluted foreigner, barbarian, Muslim (324).

man: mind, heart, soul, psyche (181)
manii: string bed; lectern for the sacred scripture; area of spiritual

jurisdiction (465).

maryādā: custom, social usage.

masand: deputy appointed by the Guru to supervise a designated sangat or

group of sangats (25).

monā: 'shaven'; one who cuts his hair.

munshī: scribe, secretary.

nam: the divine Name, the expression of the nature and being of God in

terms comprehensible to the human understanding.

namaste: reverential greeting, obeisance.

nām simaran: repeating the divine Name of God; meditating on God.

Nāth: lit. 'master'. A yogic sect of considerable influence prior to and

during the time of the early Sikh Gurus. Its members, who are also known as Kanphat yogis, practised hatha-yoga in order to obtain

immortality.

pāhul: initiation, baptism (39).

pañj mel: the five reprobate groups, to be avoided by members of the Khalsa

(24, 25).

Panth: the Sikh community.

prasād: food; karah prasad (75, 302).

rāgī: a musician employed to sing kirtan (q.v.).

Rahit: the code of discipline of the Khalsa.

rahit-nāmā: a recorded version of the Khalsa code of discipline.

raulā: tumult, chaos (450).

sabad: the divine Word; shabad, a hymn from the Adi Granth.

Sahaj-dhārī: a devotee of the Gurus who does not observe the full Khalsa discipline, specifically the ban on hair-cutting (8). Cf. Kes-dhārī.

sākhī: an anecdote concerning Guru Nanak; a story from a janam-sakhi

(162).

saigat: religious assembly, congregation (14).
satsaig: the fellowship of true believers, congregation.

satsang: the fellowship of true believers, congresavayyā: a poetic metre.

savayya: a poetic metre. sikhaṇī: Sikhni, Sikh woman. siropā: robe of honour (234).

śrādh: rite commemorating deceased forebear.

tanakhāh: penance, fine (300).

tanakhāhīā: one who has transgressed the Rahit (300).

tīrath: a place of pilgrimage.

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INDEX

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